PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENT VENUES AS URBAN NETWORK ACTORS IN ROMAN MACEDONIA AND THRACE

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ABSTRACT

Matthew Schueller: Public Entertainment Venues as Urban Network Actors in Roman Macedonia and Thrace
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Macedonia and Thrace were a geographically expansive and culturally intertwined crossroads for people, goods, and ideas in the northeast corner of the ancient Mediterranean. During their integration into the Roman Empire (2nd century BC - mid-1st century AD), Macedonia and Thrace remained crossroads but became increasingly urban. This dissertation addresses how urbanism in these regions shaped their participation in wider cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions occasioned by Roman imperialism in the late 1st – 6th century AD. This topic is addressed through an analysis of how structures built to host performances for large general audiences (theaters, stadiums, *odea*, amphitheaters, and hippodromes) promoted the development of nearby public spaces (e.g. buildings and streets) and the spread of artifacts associated with city life (e.g. consumer goods and civic monuments). This analysis focuses on Philippi, Heraclea Lyncestis, Stobi, and Thessalonica in Macedonia and Philippopolis, Diocletianopolis, Serdica, and Augusta Traiana in Thrace.

This study draws on Actor-Network-Theory, in which a city is a collection of mutable and mutually-informing interactions (a network) among people, structures, and objects (actors). This study thus holds that public entertainment venues shaped their cities as transformative participants (mediators) in the cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions they hosted among large crowds of diverse people. Structural changes, sculptural decoration, and inscriptions

in these buildings document these interactions and once assisted in their mediation. The interactions and concomitant ideas that entertainment venues promoted spread across their cities and manifested in public spaces, monuments, and artifacts.

This study also touches on how entertainment venues continued to shape Macedonia and Thrace's cities in the late 4th – 6th century AD through reuse as construction material and plots for new public buildings, Christian churches, and non-elite homes and workshops. This reuse represents a significant departure from entertainment venues' earlier functions. This reuse's forms, however, still seem to have been inspired by cities' collective memories of how these buildings had once promoted urban prosperity as foci for various interactions. This project's overarching goal is thus to explore how public entertainment venues helped to sustain around five centuries of urban life in Roman Macedonia and Thrace.

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course several other Greek and Bulgarian scholars whose goodwill during my Fulbright year was invaluable to the success of my dissertation research and to the development of my knowledge concerning the archaeology and history of ancient Macedonia and Thrace. I particularly want to thank Dr. Dilyana Boteva at the University of Sofia and Dr. Maya Vassileva at New Bulgarian University for going out of their way to be so accommodating. I also want to extend my thanks to the Thessaloniki Museum of Archaeology and Roman Agora Museum of Thessaloniki for allowing me to include photos of some of their artifacts and displays in my dissertation's figures.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*Archäologische Anzeiger*
ADelt	*Archaiologikon Deltion*
AE	*L'Année épigraphique*
AEMΘ	*Archaiologiko ergo sti Makedonia kai sti Thraki*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BE	*Bulletin épigraphique*
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*
CTh	*Codex Theodosianus*
EKM	*Epigraphes kato Makedonias*
HD	Epigraphic database Heidelberg
IG	*Inscriptiones graecae*
IGBulg	*Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae*
ILER	*Inscripciones latinas de la España romana*
ILJug	*Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt*
ILS	*Inscriptiones latinae selectae*
IMS	*Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*
IThrAeg	*Inscriptiones antiquae partis Thraciae quae ad ora maris Aegaei sita est*
LIMC	*Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*
MΘ	*Mouseio Thessalonikis*
NMaj	*Novellae Maioriani*
PG	G. De Bije, *Acta Sanctorum*

PH	Packard Humanities epigraphic database
PLRE	Prosopography of the late roman empire
RIB	The Roman inscriptions of Britain
SEG	*Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*
SIG	*Sylloge inscriptiones graecae*

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

As contiguous regions with culturally-intertwined peoples in the northeast corner of the ancient Mediterranean, Macedonia and Thrace were an expansive crossroads for various people, objects, and ideas, like the modern countries into which they are divided (Bulgaria, Greece, North Macedonia, Turkey, and Albania). During their gradual integration into the Roman Empire (2nd century BC – late 1st century AD), Macedonia and Thrace remained frequented crossroads but became increasingly urbanized. My dissertation addresses how urbanism in these regions dynamically shaped how their communities participated in the Mediterranean-wide network of cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions occasioned by Roman imperialism in the 2nd – 6th centuries AD. I explore this broader topic by analyzing how structures built to host performances for large diverse audiences (theaters, stadiums, *odea*, amphitheaters, and hippodromes) promoted the structural development of nearby public spaces (e.g. buildings, streets, and colonnades) and the spread of artifacts associated with city life (e.g. honorific and funerary monuments and consumer goods like performance-themed ceramic lamps).

This introductory chapter lays out the parameters of this study. This chapter first addresses the reasons why this study examines examples of cities and public entertainment venues in the ancient regions of Macedonia and Thrace and why these regions are considered here together. The second section of the introduction defines the boundaries of these regions when they became Roman provinces and when these provinces were rearranged into smaller provinces and larger dioceses in Late Antiquity. This chapter's third point is to address the

reason for this study's examination of urbanism in Macedonia and Thrace in the 2nd – 6th century AD and defines "urbanism" and related terms in the context of this study. The fourth section in this chapter introduces Actor-Network-Theory as the theoretical and methodological model for this study's conception of urbanism as an interactive network.

The fifth section in this introductory chapter explains why public entertainment venues are an appropriate lens through which to understand the development of cities across Macedonia and Thrace when they were under Roman administrative control. This section introduces the types of Roman entertainment venues, provides an account of the excavated examples in Macedonia and Thrace, and briefly overviews international scholarship on these buildings. The chapter next emphasizes how public entertainment venues accommodated cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions among large cross-sections of urban populations. Finally, this introduction ends with an outline of this dissertation's chapters.

Macedonia and Thrace: Crossroads at the Corner of Mediterranean and Empire

This study fits the ongoing paradigm shift in Roman archaeology away from a monolithic view of the Roman Empire toward a systematic awareness of the diversity of life in its provinces and the active role that provincial communities played in the Empire's articulation.[1] This shift requires the reconsideration of areas of the ancient Mediterranean that past scholars have deemed "peripheral" and of less significance for the construction of a larger narrative. Thus, my dissertation's overarching goal is to further integrate the Balkans into international scholarship on classical archaeology.[2] Archaeology in the Balkans is still not well-represented in wider

[1] Here the term "province" is traditionally defined as a territorial unit with more or less fixed administrative boundaries assigned to the direct jurisdiction of a Roman governor.

[2] Here I understand the Balkans as the Balkan Peninsula and Southeast Europe, which is to say the whole area south of the Danube River, east of the Adriatic and Ionian seas, and west of the Black and Aegean seas.

discussions of multicultural interactions in the ancient Mediterranean. Reasons for this include barriers to scholarly dialogue posed by the different languages spoken across the Balkans, the irregular distribution of archaeological reports outside the region, and limited funding for the publication of excavations in the region. Despite these barriers, the Balkans were at a pivotal junction of the ancient Mediterranean. This area is thus vital for understanding the diversity of communities across the Roman Empire and the complex cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions that bound them together.

In its geographical focus on Macedonia and Thrace, this study attempts to travel a middle road between the scales of analysis commonly used by archaeologists in the Balkans and their peers in Western Europe and North America. Archaeologists in the Balkans often frame their studies of particular provinces according to modern national borders. This approach helps to mitigate the nebulous character of provincial boundaries and draws attention to experiences of Roman imperialism in a particular modern country's territory. This approach, however, can skew scholars' understanding of the interactions across the ancient regions that these modern political boundaries intersect. This approach thus also means that scholars can miss a sense of an ancient region's connections with its neighbors and more distant areas of the Roman Empire.

Western European and North American archaeologists tend to group the Roman Balkans with the Empire's other eastern provinces. This approach better highlights connections on wider scales of analysis but has the effect of presenting Balkan provinces as addenda to provinces like Asia and Achaia rather than as distinct cases. While these two approaches have certainly yielded many influential works, this study uses a bi-regional approach to attempt to strike more of a balance between micro- and macro- levels of analysis. This study still highlights Macedonia and Thrace's connections to the rest of the Roman Empire, particularly to neighboring regions, but

emphasizes these provinces' intertwined and often similar experiences of Roman imperialism.[3]

Because they were located at the heart of the Roman Balkans, Macedonia and Thrace are vital case studies for the various interactions the Balkans hosted among diverse people, objects, and ideas both before and after the region was gradually integrated into the Roman Empire. The natural terrain of Macedonia and Thrace of course offered varied opportunities to travelers and settlers long before these regions were Roman provinces. For travelers, these two regions held indispensable land routes between the western and eastern Mediterranean. Most important were the route from the Adriatic Sea along the northern Aegean Sea to the Hellespont and the route through the plains between the Haemus (Balkan) and Rhodopi Mountains that connected the Hellespont and modern Serbia (Fig. 1). The western Black Sea coast was also the primary route between the Hellespont and lands north of the Danube. Settlers in Macedonia and Thrace inhabited a wide range of environments (mountains, foothills, plains, and coastal lowlands) that held valuable natural resources, such as precious and non-precious metals, pasture and agricultural land, and mineral springs.[4] All the interactions these natural opportunities occasioned among the diverse visitors to and inhabitants of Macedonia and Thrace entwined these two regions' communities while also allowing them to pursue divergent courses.

Significant political differences had emerged between the regions' eponymous inhabitants the Macedonians and Thracians by the time Romans and their *socii* began to interact with them more regularly in the 3rd century BC. Archaeological evidence and literary sources

[3] Alcock 1993, 220-1; In her study on Roman Achaia, Alcock emphasizes the dynamic diversity of the Empire's provinces. She writes that an empire is much more a "patchwork composition" than "a unitary phenomenon."

[4] Adam-Veleni 2010, 27, 128; Anson 2010, 5; Greenwalt 2015, 340; Vokotopoulou 1993, 12.

nevertheless attest that marked cultural similarities had developed as well.[5] In the 6th – 4th centuries BC, both the Macedonians and Thracians were numerous, vaguely interrelated ethnic groups (tribes) who were largely pastoralists, particularly of horses and cattle. They were led by "kings," as they are called in Greek and Roman sources, whose authority over variously-sized territories rested on resource control and the companionship of fellow large landowners. Elite burials across Macedonia and Thrace, notable clusters of which are the tombs of the Macedonian kings at Vergina (Greece) and those of the Thracian Odrysian kings around Kazanlak (Bulgaria), prominently attest to this political similarity. At these sites and others, masonry-built chambers covered by mounds, chariots interred with their horses, frescoes of hunting and dining scenes, weapons and armor, and gold and silver jewelry and vessels were among the means Macedonian and Thracian elites used to convey their status to one another and their peoples.[6]

Greeks from Euboea, the Cycladic Islands, and Asia Minor founded colonies in Macedonia and Thrace as well, primarily in the mid-7th to mid-5th century BC and particularly along the northern Aegean and western Black Sea coasts. Both Macedonians and Thracians, then, would have had frequent interactions with Greek colonists. Such interactions would have included conflicts between colonists and their Macedonian and Thracian neighbors, peaceful coexistence, treaties between local kings and colonies, intermarriage, and trade (e.g. for Greek wine, oil, and prestige goods). These interactions and others provided further grounds for the emergence of cultural similarities between Macedonians and Thracians since both peoples used

[5] Anson 2010, 5, 7; Archibald 2010, 326-7, 340; Greenwalt 2015, 340; Archibald cites the Greek historians Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon and the geographers Hecetaeus, Pseudo-Scymnus, and Strabo for their references to Thracians, Macedonians, and the other peoples the Greeks placed north of Epirus and Thessaly.

[6] Adam-Veleni 2010, 27, 29, 128; Anson 2010, 6, 10; Archibald 2010, 329-30, 340; Damyanov 2015, 295; Greenwalt 2015, 337-40, 344, 348; Vokotopoulou 1993, 12-3; There are of course many publications on the burials of Macedonian and Thracian elites, but introductory sources include Kitov 1999 on the tombs around Kazanlak and Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1999 on the site of Vergina.

forms of Greek consumer goods, art, and architecture to express their values and relationships.[7]

By the late 5th – early 4th century BC, Macedonian and Thracian elites had adopted the Greek alphabet, spoke Greek, worshipped Greek deities alongside their own, used Greek vessel shapes for their dining, and commissioned gold and silver vessels and jewelry, armor, frescoes, mosaics, and other luxuries decorated with figures from Greek myths. For this study, an important result of Macedonian and Thracian interactions with Greek colonies is that they resulted in the urban expansion of both these colonies and some Macedonian and Thracian settlements. In the latter's case, a prominent motivation for growth was the desire of local kings to have more control over trade and so a greater share of the economic and symbolic capital this trade brought with it. This motivation is attested by the urban expansion of sites like Aigai and Pella, the capitals of the Macedonian kings, and Seuthopolis, the Odyrsian king Seuthes III's capital. The royal patrons of these urban centers advertised their wealth and leadership through selective use of Greek architectural forms and decorative elements (e.g. Doric and Ionic columns, frescoes, and mosaics) in their palaces, elite houses, and public buildings.[8]

Only when Philip II (r. 359 – 336 BC) was king of Macedon did more substantial differences begin emerging between Macedonians and Thracians. These differences were in part cultural since Philip II intensively pushed Macedonian elites to patronize and adapt Greek art, architecture, and practices like the *symposia* to convey their wealth and status. He also used

[7] Adam-Veleni 2010, 27, 128; Archibald 2010, 327; 2002; Damyanov 2015; Popov 2015, 114-6; Zahrnt 2015, 35-7; Thucydides (1.58, 2.96-8) notes, for example, that the Macedonian king Perdiccas II helped to refound Olynthos in the 5th century BC. Similarly, an inscription (*SEG* 43.486; 46.872; 47.1101) from inland Thrace and dated c. 350 BC records King Kotys' vow to protect traders at Emporion Pistiros from harm and seizure of their goods or land.

[8] Adam-Veleni 2010, 27, 29, 128; Anson 2010, 16-9; Archibald 2010, 327-8; Dimitrov and Čičikova 1978; Chichikova 2016; Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2003; As at nearby Greek colonies, urbanization at these settlements began in the 6th – 5th century BC. Public buildings that emulated Greek architectural forms include the agoras at Pella and Seuthopolis and the theater at Aigai. Such emulation of course served traditional Macedonian and Thracian conceptions of public and private space.

Greek military tactics to update his army, reducing the traditional Macedonian focus on cavalry in favor of infantry.[9] Mostly, however, Philip set the Macedonians on a different political trajectory than the Thracians through large-scale territorial expansion. He drastically expanded his kingdom and made gaining influence over Greece a key aspect of his foreign policy.[10]

Inspired and enabled by his father's expansionism, Alexander III (the Great) set the Macedonians further apart from the Thracians by conquering the Persian Empire. Although this empire quickly broke apart, Alexander's conquest made Macedonia and the various Hellenistic kingdoms superpowers in the eastern Mediterranean. In contrast, Thracian tribes kept a more fragmented regional outlook in the second half of the 4th century BC, having been forced to submit to Macedonian hegemony. At the same time, Philip's successes over the Greeks and Alexander's over the Persians depended on Thracian involvement. Indeed, like their Greek and Macedonian comrade-at-arms, many Thracians made their fortunes or began new careers in the East through Alexander's Persian campaign.[11] Thus, although the late 4th – mid-2nd century BC saw significant political differences between Macedonians and Thracians, these peoples still became more involved in wider Mediterranean interactions at the same time.

Political alliances, military conflicts, and similar cultural practices between Macedonians and Thracians meant that their communities remained intertwined in the two centuries between when they became Roman provinces in 146 BC and 46 AD, respectively.[12] Conflicts between

[9] Adam-Veleni 2016a, 12; 2010, 33, 129; Greenwalt 2015, 339.

[10] Anson 2010, 9, 19; Camp 2001, 142; Vokotopoulou 1993, 13; Major steps that led to his success were Philip's support of the Phocians in the Third Sacred War (356 – 346 BC), his defeat of the coalition led by Athens and Thebes at the Battle of Chaeronea (339 BC), and his imposition of the League of Corinth over Greece.

[11] Archibald 2010, 339; Delev 2015, 52; Vokotopoulou 1993, 14; Arrian (2.5.1; 3.26.3-4) and other Greek historians (Curt. 5.1.41, 9.3.21; Diod. 17.95.4) mention that Thracian infantry and cavalry joined Alexander's campaign *en masse* in 331 BC. Egypt is one of the regions in which many of these Thracian soldiers are known to have settled.

[12] Collart 1937, 244; Lozanov 2015, 75-6; Vanderspoel 2010, 251-2, 255, 257, 270.

Thracians and Roman armies from Macedonia were frequent in the 1st century BC, for example, thus prompting Cicero to remark that "for the governors of Macedonia the borders were always the same as those marked by their swords and spears."[13] Further discussion of Roman involvement in Macedonia and Thrace before they were provinces and implications for urban centers is presented in Chapter Two. For now, the above glimpse into the kinds of interactions that tied Macedonia and Thrace together in the centuries before their formal integration into the Roman Empire demonstrates why it is ideal to consider them together when discussing their participation in this wider imperial network. A focus on these two regions underscores how the Roman Empire was a wide network of interconnected peoples, objects, ideas, and environments.

The Borders of Roman Macedonia and Thrace

The boundaries of the Roman provinces of Macedonia and Thrace largely corresponded to the regional limits that operated in the Hellenistic period (Figs. 2 – 3). The eastern boundary between Macedonia and Thrace was roughly along the Nestos River. From the Nestos, the northern boundary of Macedonia followed an undulating northwestern course between the Strymon and Axios Rivers into the mountains. The Kingdom of Macedon's northern boundary turned south through the mountains, but the Roman province included Epirus and so continued west to the Adriatic Sea south of Lissus. Between 27 BC and the mid-2nd century AD, Macedonia's southern border included Thessaly. After this time, the border contracted to run on a slight northwestern course from the Thermaic Gulf south of Mount Olympus and Dion to the Adriatic south of Aulon.[14] The sites on which this study focuses were located in the territory of

[13] Cic. *In Pisonem* 16.38; Lozanov 2015, 77; Vanderspoel 2010, 258, 269; For a time after the Battle of Actium, the whole area from Macedonia to the Danube and the Black Sea was under the purview of Macedonia's governor.

[14] Anson 2010, 5; Archibald 2010, 333; Lozanov 2015, 76; Vanderspoel 2010, 258, 270; Archibald contends in contrast to Vanderspoel that "Macedonian territory never truly extended to the banks of the River Nestos."

the Roman province of Macedonia that had also been in the Kingdom of Macedon.

Thrace's southern boundary ran from the Nestos River along the northern Aegean littoral to the Hellespont (Figs. 2, 4). Its eastern border was the Black Sea while to the west it was bounded by the Rhodopi Mountains between the Strymon and Axios Rivers. To the north, Roman Thrace differed from earlier conceptions of the region by not ending at the Danube River. Instead, its northern boundary initially would have run along the northern side of the Haemus Mountains and dipped to the southeast to end at Mesambria on the Black Sea Coast. After Nicopolis ad Istrum and Marcianopolis were founded under Trajan and Hadrian, respectively, Thrace's northern border ran further north of the Haemus Mountains to include their territories. Septimius Severus had Thrace's northern border reset along the Haemus Mountains. The area between the Haemus Mountains and the Danube became Moesia, perhaps formally around 15 AD under Tiberius; under Domitian (c. 96 AD) it became Moesia Inferior.[15]

This study's main sites in Thrace are selected from the west and central interior of the province. While the Greek colonies along the northern Aegean and western Black Sea coasts were important aspects of urbanism in Thrace both before and after it became a province, they are only mentioned occasionally for the parallels they offer. The public entertainment venues that most of these sites would have had are either unexcavated or unidentified and known only from architectural fragments, entertainment-themed items, and inscriptions. The exception is Maroneia, the theater of which has been excavated and restored.[16] The theater at Odessos in northeastern Thrace, for example, is only known from architectural fragments dated to the early

[15] Haynes 2011, 7; Lozanov 2015, 76, 80; Tacheva 2004, 56; Vanderspoel 2010, 251, 269-70; As can be seen in Fig. 4, the northern boundary of Thrace originally included the territories of Nicopolis ad Istrum and Marcianopolis before they were reassigned to Moesia Inferior. The creation date of Moesia remains a subject of debate.

[16] Damyanov 2015, 295; Minchev 2019, 178ff.; Zahrnt 2015, 37.

3rd century AD. Terracotta actor figurines and masks that were imported to and produced at Odessos beginning in the mid- to late 4th century BC hint that a theater existed there by that time.[17] Likewise at Perinthus, Thrace's capital from 46 AD to the late 3rd century AD, the *cavea* of a theater has been located on the south slope of the site's acropolis, but its seats were used for harbor construction in Istanbul in the 19th century. The stadium at Perinthus is roughly defined, and some of its remains were found on the acropolis' west slope, but it has not been excavated.[18]

Along with the Roman Empire's other eastern provinces, Macedonia and Thrace were reorganized a few times in Late Antiquity (the late 3rd – 6th century AD) according to the new administrative system of small provinces assigned to dioceses and four prefectures. Available written sources and inscriptions do not provide precise dates for these changes. These sources do generally reveal, however, that these transformations began in the late 3rd, were updated by the mid-4th, and were slightly altered again in the late 4th and mid-5th centuries AD.[19]

The province of Macedonia lost its lands along the Adriatic Sea to Epirus Nova and, by the early 5th century, its upper portion to Macedonia Salutaris (Secunda by the mid-5th century AD). Generally, from the 4th to 6th century AD the diocese of Macedonia contained these provinces and Epirus Vetus, Thessalia, Achaia, and Creta; it was included in the prefecture of Illyricum with the diocese of Dacia to the north (Fig. 5).[20] The northwest corner of the old province of Thrace was reassigned to Dacia Ripensis/Mediterranea while the rest of the old

[17] Minchev 2011, 21, 34; Architectural decoration from the theater is on display in Varna's archaeological museum.

[18] Sayar 1998, 60; The remains of the stadium were identified and briefly studied in 1986.

[19] Anson 2010, 5; Dumanov 2015, 91; Snively 2010, 545-7; Vanderspoel 2010, 252, 271; Late Antique Macedonia is discussed in Malchius' *Byzantiaka*, Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*, Sozomen's *Church History*, Socrates' *Church History*, Jordanes' *History of the Goths*, Zosimus' *New History*, and Marcellinus Comes' *Chronicle*.

[20] Snively 2010, 547-9; Snively notes that the *Breviarium* of Rufus Festus, which is dated c. 369/70 AD, is the earliest written source to mention the diocese of Macedonia. She thus contends that the dioceses of Macedonia and Dacia were combined into a diocese of Moesia in the mid-4th century AD.

province was confined to the central plains and the sections of the Haemus and Rhodopi Mountains on either side of them. The diocese of Thrace, which was incorporated into the prefecture Oriens, included the new provinces Moesia Inferior and Scythia Minor, Thrace and Haemimontus below them, and Rhodopi and Europa along the northern Aegean Sea (Fig. 5).[21] Despite these significant administrative changes, the cities in the areas of the former provinces of Macedonia and Thrace remained interactive hubs and as highly interconnected as before.

The resilience of old cities and the emergence of new ones as dynamic foci for life in Macedonia and Thrace in the late 3rd – early 4th century AD underscores that cities played a larger role than provincial borders in sustaining and shaping the Roman Empire as a Mediterranean-wide network. For communities in Macedonia and Thrace, few of which were cities before the regions were provinces, urbanization was a significant development that Roman political and cultural influence promoted. In this respect, Macedonia and Thrace were more similar to western provinces than their immediate southern and eastern neighbors. This study is thus concerned with urbanism in Macedonia and Thrace when they were under Roman control because it played a vital role in their participation in wider interregional interactions.

Roman Urbanism and Its Meanings for Macedonia and Thrace

In this study I define "urbanism" as complexity that arises in a sizeable and densely settled population. This complexity is characterized by a wide variety of interactions among many people who are diverse according to factors such as profession, wealth, origin, and/or legal status. Adding to this complexity are the interactions between these people and their environment and between them and the equally numerous and various ideas, objects, and structures that their interactions with each other and their environment produced. I use the term "urban landscape" to

[21] Dumanov 2015, 91.

refer to a particular site at which this conception of urbanism is present. I differentiate "urbanization" and "urbanism" by using the former to mean the process that leads to the latter. "Urbanization" is the emergence of a large, concentrated population and of numerous, diverse interactions among its people while "urbanism" is the fluid continuation of these conditions.

This study also defines "cities" as a region's most complex urban landscapes. Relatively less complex urban landscapes are called "towns" while lightly urbanized sites are referred to as "communities" or "settlements." When discussion concerns a regional scale of analysis, the term "urban centers" is used to refer generally to this range of urbanized settings for human activity. Thus, although my analysis focuses on cities in Roman Macedonia and Thrace, it still accepts that smaller settlements in the two provinces were also urban to varying degrees.[22]

Although Macedonia and Thrace did not become provinces at the same time, their integration into the Roman Empire overlapped. Both first experienced significant urbanization in the late 1st – early 2nd century AD. This time of change entailed widespread introductions of new people, ideas, objects, and buildings to the urban centers across both provinces. Interactions in and between urban centers across each province were thus irreversibly transformed in the late 1st – early 2nd century AD, which is why I call this time of significant urban change an "urbanization horizon."[23] Because they were outcomes of complex human interactions, large-scale building projects that entailed the construction or renovation of monumental public structures and spaces – such as entertainment venues – are especially indicative of this and later urbanization horizons.

[22] These definitions are inspired by works like Robin Osborne's 2005 article on Iron-Age Greece. Frey and Zimmer 2001 (19-21) advocate a similar conception of urbanism as a spectrum of relative population and territorial size and complexity. See also G.D.B. Jones's (1997, 192-4) useful summary of J. Walker's (*Roman Manchester*, 1986) similar thoughts on conceiving of urbanization and its relationship with Roman imperial control in Britain.

[23] In conceiving of this term, I had in mind the concept in astronomy of an "event horizon." In other words, in this study an "urbanization horizon" is a turning point or watershed in the development of urbanism at a regional scale.

The urbanization horizon of the late 1st – early 2nd century AD was the first of many that occurred in Macedonia and Thrace in the following centuries. Based on datable architectural, artefactual, and epigraphic evidence and the benefit of historical hindsight, these times of intense urbanization can be assigned loosely to around every turn of the century until the late 6th century AD. It is of course necessary to emphasize, however, that this periodicity in urban change in Macedonia and Thrace between the late 1st and late 6th century AD is largely artificial. On the one hand, many changes to the people, objects, and structures that constituted urban life across Macedonia and Thrace in these centuries can be dated around the end of one century and the beginning of the next. Moreover, it can plausibly be said, thanks to the benefit of historical hindsight, that the relatively quick chronological succession of such changes over the course of a few decades resulted in pivotal episodes of urban development. On the other hand, like modern urban landscapes, those of Roman Macedonia and Thrace were in a constant state of dynamic redevelopment, and the changes that coalesced around turns of the century were still spread out in time and had their roots in the developments of preceding decades. These, then, are the considerations behind my use of the term "urbanization horizon" to bridge the gap between the fluid lived experiences of cities in Roman Macedonia and Thrace and modern scholarly understandings of this dynamism based on fragmented evidence that often defies precise dating.

My study ends (in Chapter Eight) in the 5th – 6th centuries AD since by the beginning of the 7th century most older cities in Macedonia and Thrace were abandoned and significantly different settlement patterns were emerging across both regions. I thus to some extent address how the ideas and material forms that underlay Roman urbanism changed so drastically across an increasingly politically fragmented Roman Empire between the late 3rd and late 6th century AD. Like past scholars who labelled this timeframe "Late Antiquity," it can be tempting to adopt a

narrative of decline when discussing the changing urban landscapes by which it was characterized. Indeed, extant literary and archaeological evidence at times supports such a negative assessment by attesting that external military threats, instability in imperial administration, and economic hardship often caused urban change.

As recent studies have argued, however, the same evidence also indicates that amid the changes wrought by these factors, others such as imperial administrative reforms, the increased public presence of Christian clergy, and elite patronage of church construction and the urban poor reinvigorated urban landscapes.[24] The ideas and material forms that drove Roman urbanism from the 1st to mid-3rd century AD mediated these developments. At the end of this study I briefly bridge the "high" and "late" empire because entertainment venues were among the public buildings that, while in ruins, were still able to shape the new understandings of urbanism that emerged. My hope is thus to contribute in a small way to the reevaluation of Late Antiquity as a time of creative adaptation and revitalization in urban centers across the ancient Mediterranean.

On the one hand, the changing senses of urbanism that developed in Macedonia and Thrace in the 2nd – 6th century AD can be called "Roman" in that they included ideas, objects, and structures that were to some extent standardized across the Empire. With regard to cities in the Empire's western provinces, Ray Laurence et al. refer to this emergence of widely shared urban features as "a universal urban identity."[25] Standardized objects and structures included public architecture (like entertainment venues), grid-planned streets, red-slipped ceramic vessels, and Roman coinage. Ideas in Macedonian and Thracian cities that were also common in others across the Empire included cultural values or institutions like martial skill and leisure, the

[24] See, for example, Brown 1992, Harris 1999, Lavan and Bowden 2001, Liebeschuetz 2001, Ng and Swetnam-Burland 2018, and Yasin 2009. Such sources are considered further in Chapter Eight.

[25] Laurence et al. 2011, 257.

necessity of elite euergetism, polytheistic cult worship, and the imperial cult. Many of the relatively standardized ideas, objects, and structures that characterized Roman urbanism were inspired by such characteristics of Greek colonies. These characteristics were thus not all that unfamiliar to Macedonians and Thracians as they appeared in these peoples' urban centers.

On the other hand, such standardized features were involved in interactions among objects, structures, and ideas with diverse cultural and ethnic origins. To counter Laurence and colleagues, then, a "universal urban identity" across the Roman Empire did *not* "necessarily [replace] the 'barbarian' identity associated with what was unique to each particular place."[26] As it did across the Mediterranean, however, Roman urbanism provided a common language for Macedonia and Thrace's urban centers. Thus, buildings, built spaces, monuments, and artifacts in the archaeological records of these sites and especially cities rarely convey an overtly "Macedonian" or "Thracian" identity. Instead, local and regional diversity is most often expressed in subtle ways. Such subtle indicators of this diversity that appear in this study include differences in the kinds of entertainment venues in Macedonia and Thrace, variations in the cults attested at sites, and the particularly Thracian names of elite game-givers in Thrace.

Thus, the understanding of Roman urbanism embraced here is the one that is increasingly found in scholarship on the subject. That is, that in regions without many cities before integration into the Roman Empire, urbanism spread among local populations not because it offered a superior cultural package of "Romanness." Urbanism spread because it afforded many new opportunities for interaction that followed certain conventions but still allowed individuals and communities to cultivate distinct and overlapping senses of self. Granted, Roman governors and emperors had a vested interest in promoting urbanism since it consolidated provincial

[26] Laurence et al. 2011, 257.

populations' interactions at particular locations and so helped these imperial authorities to monitor, manage and defend the Empire's large territorial holdings. Still, by encouraging more numerous interactions of various kinds among people differentiated by wealth, profession, legal status, ethnicity, etc., Roman urbanism enabled the provinces' communities to use their participation in the Empire to their advantage.[27]

Applying Actor-Network-Theory: Urbanism as a Network

My approach to urbanism in Roman Macedonia and Thrace draws on Actor-Network-Theory, which is a version of network theory developed by sociologists Bruno Latour and Michel Callon. Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) explicitly accepts that objects (e.g. tools and buildings) and ideas actively participate in and affect the outcomes of people's interactions. This acknowledgment of objects and ideas as "actors" comes from ANT's core principle that associations between people extend beyond the human participants themselves into the objects they use and the spaces they inhabit. Ignacio Farías calls this principle "radical relationality." Like Latour and Callon, then, I do not see cities as stable collections of spaces and structures that function as passive backdrops to human interactions. Instead, I envision a city as a cluster of dynamic interactions among diverse people, objects, spaces, and structures (i.e. a network). These interactions generate ideas among people that not only lead them to shape the things they use and places they inhabit but also allow people to be shaped by these things and places.[28]

Thus, like traditional social network theory, Actor-Network-Theory seeks to understand society as a network by identifying nodes and the connections between them but differs in its

[27] See, for example, Alcock 1993, Hingley 2005, Jennings 2014, Mattingly 2013, Roth 2007, Fentress (ed.) 2000, Hanson 1997, Mattingly (ed.) 1997, Whittaker 1997, and Woolf 1997.

[28] Farías 2010, 3, 14; Latour 2005, 5-8, 71-2; Rydin and Tate 2016, 6; As Rydin and Tate write, the principle of radical relationality "gives rise to the idea that the material exercises agency although [sic] it is more in keeping with the ANT approach to say that relationships in which the material is implicated exercise agency."

insistence on the diversity and dynamism in these nodes and connections. As Astrid von Oyen puts it, traditional social network theory proposes variables like gender and class as bounded nodes that explain interactions, but ANT "urges the analyst to observe [these variables'] eventual existence take shape as a result of the analysis, instead of presuming it at the start."[29] To clarify its overall purpose, Farías writes that ANT "does not aim at deconstructing the social, but at understanding the associations that make up the social. The social is thus not a thing, but a type of relation or, better, associations between things which are not social by themselves."[30]

What "society" or "urbanism" is, then, is determined by interactions among heterogeneous actors at any given time. In ANT, small and big changes in interactions among actors in a city create separate but overlapping new experiences of urban life over time. ANT thus embraces thinking about urbanism as a series of multiple conditions rather than a single phenomenon.[31] In this idea of layered successive experiences generating an urban landscape, ANT is similar to place theory, which holds that a place "as a particular combination of location and meanings…is constructed…experience-by-experience, place [giving] way to new place."[32]

Moreover, not only do interactions change constantly but so do the actors that engage in them. Changing interactions can produce changed actors and can also lead to the addition or subtraction of actors. This means that when new actors join a network, whether it is a city or a smaller group (e.g. of people, structures, or objects) in it, they are added with the help or "mediation" of an actor that is already integrated into that network. In their use of ANT in policy planning, Yvonne Rydin and Laura Tate refer to this situation as "enrollment" preceded by

[29] Van Oyen 2016, 37.

[30] Farías 2010, 2-3; Latour 2005, 5-7; Law 1992.

[31] Farías 2010, 14; Latour 2005, 8.

[32] Rohl 2014, 6.

"translation." The enrollment or integration – terms that are used interchangeably in this study – of new actors into a network is thus not a single event but a process that takes place over time.[33] Once integrated, the new actor then becomes a possible mediator for the enrollment of other actors into a network that is now slightly or significantly different from what it had been.

In contrast to mediators, which participate in and thereby somehow change the interactions they accommodate, intermediaries allow interactions among other actors but do not change them. Latour notes that actors can be mediators in some cases and intermediaries in others and thus holds that mediation needs to be demonstrated through tangible traces. However, he still asserts that intermediaries are generally exceptions in ANT. When it comes to non-human actors (e.g. objects and structures) in particular, Latour holds that in ANT they have to have the capacity to be actors "and not simply the hapless bearers of symbolic projection."[34]

Like Latour, Ian Hodder contends that society consists of interactions among humans and things and that as interrelated actors they mutually shape each other. Calling his version of this concept "entanglement,"[35] Hodder thus also emphasizes that non-human things, places, ideas, etc., exercise a sense of agency (i.e. a capacity to effect change) in networks by facilitating particular interactions. Hodder uses James Gibson's term "affordances," which features occasionally in this analysis, to refer to non-human actors' potentials for such facilitation.[36] While Hodder holds that people depend on things – and on some more than others – and so assigns different weights to interactions between humans and material actors, the weighing of

[33] Latour 2005, 27-40; Rydin and Tate 2016, 7-8; In this study the terms "integration" and "enrollment" are understood as entailing "translation," so this last term is not used here.

[34] Latour 2005, 10, 39-40.

[35] Hodder 2012, 8, 13; Hodder's theory of entanglement has been used in prehistoric archaeology but rarely in Roman archaeology.

[36] Hodder 2012, 49-50; Hodder notes that Gibson's 1986 work inaugurated archaeologists' use of "affordances."

interactions does not figure in my analysis, although ANT is open to this approach.[37] By placing equal value on different interactions, ANT's principle of radical relationality has more potential to identify ties between human and non-human actors that were previously overlooked.

Similarly, ANT does not attach greater significance to a particular scale of connections. In ANT, networks are inherently flat in terms of the relative importance of interactions. The theory's practitioners at times reference scale as shorthand for discussing ever-widening networks of interactions.[38] The interactions among human, material, and intangible actors that characterized urban landscapes across Macedonia and Thrace were certainly at the service of the Roman Empire. However, what these interactions meant for individual sites and for Macedonia and Thrace as regions is equally important. My analysis thus commonly uses scale to clarify how interactions among people, objects, and structures at one site extended to others in their region or neighboring regions. In this study I refer to local (the city and its hinterland), regional (or "provincial" when Roman administrative borders are pertinent), interregional (between two or more neighboring regions), and imperial (the Roman Empire) scales of interactions.

Scholars are beginning to recognize the benefits of Actor-Network-Theory for case studies on the ancient Mediterranean. Studies of archaeological material from the ancient Mediterranean that draw explicitly on ANT are growing but are still few in number. A successful example of such a study is that of Astrid van Oyen. She reassembles *terra sigillata* produced at modern Lezoux in the territory of the Roman province of *Gallia Aquitania* as a type of pottery

[37] Hodder 2012, 9, 93-5; Hodder thus holds that the various interactions among diverse people, objects, and structures in a particular environment are best explained as a web of "sticky entrapment" rather than a network. To Hodder, humans are dependent on objects because they are "embodied nervous systems need[ing] activation by cultural and environmental cues." Hodder's entanglement also considers how things can interact with each other without human involvement, a topic not considered in this study.

[38] Farías 2010, 3; Latham and McCormack 2010; Smith 2010; Smith's article entitled *Urban studies without 'scale': localizing the global through Singapore* argues in some cases scale is not even useful.

by tracing the interactions, which she calls "work-nets," that led to its production.[39] Her study ends with *sigillata* produced at Lezoux becoming a recognized type of Roman pottery in the second half of the 2nd century AD. Her general discussion of ANT, however, suggests that she can extend her work by considering how Lezoux *sigillata* facilitated the construction of other actors through people's interactions with the pottery.

In summary, I have chosen Actor-Network-Theory to guide my analysis of urbanism in Roman Macedonia and Thrace because it efficiently combines traditional archaeological principles like contextual, attribute (artifacts' affordances), topographical, and diachronic analyses in its method of reassembly. ANT also enhances these traditional methods' analytical potential by emphasizing: the complex mix of different kinds of human interactions that construct society, the formative participation of diverse material and intangible actors in these human connections, and the frequency with which networks of human and non-human actors change due to the mutually-shaping effects of their interactions. Van Oyen asserts that ANT encourages archaeologists "to scrutinize [their] rich discipline-specific toolbox in light of ANT's findings on human-thing relations and their emergence and stabilization."[40]

In this study of cities in Roman Macedonia and Thrace, I contend that built spaces and objects had an active role in human interactions because I believe that this position allows for a fuller consideration of how archaeological remains once fit into the lived experiences of urban landscapes. Silvia Vilches and Laura Tate write that "as a methodology, ANT analysis often starts by looking at an object of significance within a given network and by exploring either how

[39] Van Oyen 2016; Principle among these interactions was the need for large preparation areas for the particular clay bodies in *sigillata* vessels. Specific firing conditions were also necessary, since these vessels had to be fired in large rectangular kilns separate from other pottery.

[40] Van Oyen 2016, 40, 51; She also underscores that ANT "provides [archaeologists] with a nuanced model of how things work, emphasizing material practices…and defining things *in-the-doing*."

that object came to exist in relation to the actors who helped to create it or how that object has had a significant impact on network activities."[41] Thus, taking cities in Roman Macedonia and Thrace between the 2nd and late 6th century AD as its given networks, my analysis focuses on Roman public entertainment venues as particularly significant urban network actors.

Public Entertainment Venues as Monumental Products of Urbanism

My analysis focuses on public entertainment venues for two reasons. First, they were monumental features of Macedonian and Thracian urban landscapes from the late 1st – early 2nd into the 6th century AD. Second, they demonstrate that urbanism is driven by productive interactions of various kinds among large groups of people. By public entertainment venues I mean the relatively standardized building types found across the Roman Empire that were designed to host performances for large general audiences: theaters, *odea*, amphitheaters, stadiums, and hippodromes (as circuses in the eastern provinces are traditionally called). These structures hosted performances that included gladiatorial battles (*munera/μονομαχία*); animal hunts (*venationes/κυνηγεσία*), which most often accompanied gladiatorial battles; chariot and horse races (*ludi circenses*); athletic events (*ludi gymnici*); dramatic performances (*ludi scaenices*), which were most often tragedies, comedies, mimes, and pantomimes; and lectures and readings on literature and philosophy. Entertainment venues were designed to host specific performances, but they sometimes accommodated additional kinds as well (Table 1 below).

As much as in the Roman Empire's other provinces, for cities in Macedonia and Thrace the introduction of a public entertainment venue was a particularly potent indicator and driver of complex urban life. Like other public buildings in these provinces' cities, these structures stood out as products of and participants in various human interactions because of their monumentality.

[41] Vilches and Tate 2016, 64.

Edmund Thomas contends that in Roman architecture "monumental" entailed not only a large size, wide visibility, and durability and quality in building materials but also the capacity to host interactions – and thereby evoke ideas – among people (i.e. a function) that went beyond practicality.[42] An entertainment venue was particularly monumental because it accommodated a variety of interactions among large cross-sections of a city's population (see below). In size and multifunctionality, then, an entertainment venue conveyed to other communities that its urban landscape played a leading role in guiding a region's participation in the Roman Empire.

Table 1: Roman Public Entertainment Venues and the Performances They Hosted[43]

	Gladiatorial Combats	Animal Hunts	Chariot Races	Horse Races	Athletics	Dramatic Perf.	Lectures/ Readings
Theaters	X	X				X	X
Amphitheaters	X	X				O	
Stadiums	O	O		X	X	O	O
Hippodromes	O	O	X	X		X	
Odea						X	X

X = Common O = Occasional

This study contributes to a dispersed and not easily accessible body of Bulgarian, Greek, and Northern Macedonian scholarship on public entertainment venues in Macedonia and Thrace. These entertainment venues are the same architectural types present elsewhere in the Empire. As in the Empire's other eastern provinces, the theater was the most prevalent entertainment venue in Macedonia and Thrace. Excavations of all known Macedonian and Thracian entertainment venues, which often began in the early 20th century, have been published piecemeal in annual archaeological periodicals issued by national institutes and regional museums.[44] These structures

[42] Thomas 2007, 4-13; Zanker 2000, 37-8; Thomas' definition of "monumentality" is that envisioned throughout this study. Thomas explains each of the various facets of ancient monumentality.

[43] Dodge 2014a, 281; 2011; 2009, 31; Dodge's 2014 article lays out well the basic forms of Roman public entertainment structures, the performances they hosted, and the issues involved in discussing both.

[44] For example, study of the theaters at Dion, Philippi, Thasos, and Philippopolis; Philippopolis' stadium; and the hippodrome at Thessalonica all began in the early 20th century. The main annual periodicals in which this study's

are also often presented briefly in overviews of archaeological sites, although some receive separate scholarly treatment.[45] Most helpfully, the public entertainment venues found in northern Greece, Bulgaria, and North Macedonia are addressed comprehensively in the works of Ch. G. Lazos (2016, ed.) and Polyxeni Adam-Veleni (2010), Lyudmil Vagalinski (2009), and Tome Janakievski (1998), respectively.[46] My study is the first to associate public entertainment venues excavated in both Macedonia and Thrace. The structures and sites on which I focus my analysis are in Tables 2 and 3; others that feature in my analysis as regional comparisons are in Table 4.

Table 2: Main Public Entertainment Venues in Roman Macedonia			
City	Venue Type	Modern Town	Modern Country
Philippi	Theater	Philippoi	Greece
Thessalonica	Odeum	Thessaloniki	
	Hippodrome		
	Theater-stadium		
Heraclea Lyncestis	Theater	Bitola	N. Macedonia
Stobi	Theater	Near Gradsko	

Table 3: Main Public Entertainment Venues in Roman Thrace			
City	Venue Type	Modern Town/ City	Modern Country
Augusta Traiana	Amphitheater	Stara Zagora	Bulgaria
Diocletianopolis	Amphitheater	Hisar	
Philippopolis	Odeum	Plovdiv	
	Stadium		
	Theater		
Serdica	Amphitheater	Sofia	
	Theater		

entertainment venues are published are *Αρχαιολογικον Δελτιον* and *Το αρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη* in Greece and *Археология, Археологически Открития и Разкопки*, and *Archaeologia Bulgarica* in Bulgaria.

[45] For example, for public entertainment venues in Macedonia see Pavlovski 2018b (Stobi), Mikulčić 2005 (Heraclea Lyncestis), Gounares 2004 (Philippi), Grandjean and Salviat 2000 (Thasos), Pandermalis 1999 (Dion), Vitti 1996 (Thessalonica), Gebhard 1975 (Stobi), Vickers 1975 (Thessalonica), and Collart 1937 (Philippi). For those in Thrace see, for example, Velichkov 2011, 2010, 2009, 2007 (Serdica); Topalilov 2012a (in English) (Philippopolis); Kesiakova 1999 (Philippopolis); and Madjarov 1993 (Diocletianopolis).

[46] George Karadedos and Chaidi Koukouli-Chrysanthaki also discuss the theaters at Philippi, Maroneia, and Thasos in articles published in 2006 (in Greek) and 2005 (in English).

Table 4: Additional Public Entertainment Venues in Roman Macedonia and Thrace				
Province	City	Venue Type	Modern Town/ City	Modern Country
Macedonia	Dion	Hell. Theater	Dion	Greece
		Stadium		
		Odeum		
		Rom. Theater		
	Lychnidos	Theater	Ohrid	N. Macedonia
	Thasos	Odeum	Limenas	Greece
		Theater		
Thrace	Constantinople	Hippodrome	Istanbul	Turkey
	Maroneia	Theater	Maroneia	Greece
	Perinthus	Theater	Marmara Ereğlisi	Turkey
		Stadium		
	Serdica	Odeum	Sofia	Bulgaria
Thrace/ Moesia Inf.	Marcianopolis	Amphitheater	Near Devnya	Bulgaria
	Nicopolis ad Istrum	Odeum	Nikyup	
Moesia Sup.	Scupi	Theater	Near Skopje	N. Macedonia

Previous scholarship on public entertainment venues in Macedonia and Thrace is framed much like work on those in other parts of the Empire and draws related conclusions. Broadly speaking, past scholarship on Roman public entertainment venues has provided in-depth architectural descriptions of these structures and general overviews of their use histories. These past scholars often use epigraphic and literary sources to complement their architectural studies to account as thoroughly as possible for the kinds of public performances that were hosted by entertainment venues in the 2nd – early 4th century AD. Along with others whose work focus on public entertainments rather than the structures that hosted them, many of these scholars emphasize how emperors and elites at Rome and in the provinces used Roman public entertainments to promote political loyalty among urban populations.[47]

[47] For sources that focus on political interactions in Roman public entertainment venues see Andreeva (2014), Coleman (2011), Futrell (2006, 1997), Hornum (1993), and Suspène (2012), for example.

One such scholar is Kathleen Coleman, who has written broadly on the forms of Roman entertainment venues and their uses for the enforcement of imperial authority and social hierarchy and for the expression of popular opinion.[48] Hazel Dodge's work is similarly insightful in this regard but specifically deals with entertainment structures in the Empire's eastern provinces.[49] Scholars who discuss the effects of entertainment venues on people's interactions but focus more on historical sources than venue remains include Allison Futrell and Garret Fagan. Futrell's approach is helpful for underscoring gladiatorial games' potential as metaphors for Roman imperial power. Fagan used psychology to explain that these performances produced cohesion in audiences' thoughts and actions because of the adrenaline-induced enthusiasm these entertainments fostered. Fagan referred to this effect as "collective effervescence."[50]

Other authors focus on particular types of entertainment venues. For example, David Bomgardner and Katherine Welch stand out for their concern with the architectural development of the Roman amphitheater and the ideological and formal factors that contributed to it. Jean-Claude Golvin's monograph on the form and functions of the Roman amphitheater is perhaps still the most comprehensive work on the subject.[51]

In a similar way to Golvin, Frank Sear writes at length about Roman theaters, covering topics such as their design elements, financing, and formal variations in the provinces. His catalogue of all known theaters across the Empire is a helpful guide for basic information and

[48] Coleman 2000; Coleman's 2011 chapter in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World* provides a concise introduction to Coleman's work on gladiatorial entertainments and their venues.

[49] Dodge 2014a; 2014b; 2011; 2009; 2008; Dodge's 2009 article is on amphitheaters in the Roman East while her 2008 chapter is on circuses in the eastern provinces.

[50] Fagan 2011; Futrell 2006, 1997.

[51] Bomgardner 2001; Golvin 1988; Welch 2009; Both Bomgardner and Welch look primarily at Italian amphitheaters but also briefly at those in the North African and eastern provinces, respectively. Golvin's book includes a catalogue of all the amphitheaters that had been found across the Mediterranean by 1988.

citations concerning those known for Macedonia and Thrace.[52] Margarete Bieber's book it is now an older coverage of the development of Roman theater architecture and the staging of Roman dramatic performances. Still, it remains a valuable guide for considerations of how performers in particular would have moved around theaters.[53] Dodge, Bieber, and Sear address how many older Late Classical and Hellenistic theaters were modified and new theaters built to host gladiatorial battles and animal hunts in the Roman Empire's eastern provinces. In reference to Stobi's theater, Elizabeth Gebhard and Goce Pavlovski outline the structural changes that a theater's orchestra, stage building, and seating area needed in order to host these performances.[54]

Sources on circus architecture and Roman chariot racing are relatively sparse in comparison to those on amphitheaters, theaters, and gladiatorial battles. The works of John Humphrey and Alan Cameron on these subjects are still highly influential. Cameron's work in particular influences this study through its concern with how the circus factions were avenues for the exercise of imperial authority and the voicing of public opinion, especially in Late Antiquity.[55] The most important circus of Late Antiquity, Constantinople's hippodrome, is also the subject of an edited volume that covers subjects like its architectural remains and hypothetical reconstruction, the sculptural decoration of its *spina* and the imperial box, and its role in advertising imperial authority.[56]

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[52] Dodge 2014a, 298; 2014b, 577; Sear 2006.

[53] Bieber 1961; Bieber also discusses many related topics such as the forms of theatrical performances that were common in the Roman Empire and consumer goods that were decorated with theatrical imagery.

[54] Dodge 2009; 2014b, 572-3; Gebhard 2018; 2012; 1981a; 1981b; 1975; Pavlovski 2018a; 2018b.

[55] Cameron 1976; Dodge 2014a *The Architecture of Roman Spectacle*, 298; 2014b *Venues for Spectacle and Sport (Other than Amphitheaters)*, 577; Humphrey 1986; Humphrey's work focuses more on circus architecture and its variations across the Empire.

[56] Pitarakis, ed. 2012; Volume 1 covers the hippodrome of Constantinople, and volume 2 covers the use of the area of the hippodrome as an Atmeydanı under the Ottoman Empire.

In comparison to theaters, amphitheaters, and circuses/hippodromes, stadiums and *odea* attracted far less scholarly attention in the past for the largely unspoken idea that they and their performances were not quite "Roman." For stadiums, as Dodge notes, this partly arises from a past overreliance on literary sources, which hold that athletic games were not very popular in Rome and the Empire's western provinces. It is also generally thought that stadium architecture was not modified in any particularly novel way after the integration of the eastern Mediterranean into the Roman Empire. My study thus has a place in recent uses of available literary and archaeological evidence to reevaluate the place of athletics and stadiums in Roman urbanism.[57]

Scholars do not consistently consider the *odeum* a Roman public entertainment venue as I do in this study, even though it held lectures, readings, and small dramatic performances for an audience of hundreds. As a covered hall with seating arranged in semicircular tiers, it is identical in form to the *bouleuterium*. Thus, without literary or archaeological that a particular *bouleuterium* hosted performances, it is likely to be considered only a political building. To counteract this bias, this study accepts that structures identified as *odea* in Macedonia and Thrace were indeed likely such. Indeed, across the Empire many *bouleuteria* hosted performances and so became *odea* while many *odea* held meetings of the city council and so were also *bouleuteria*.

Public Entertainment Venues as Urban Network Actors

The above overview of past scholarship is cursory and does not address the many publications that have been written on Roman public entertainment alone. The intent here has been to highlight some of the scholars who have made valuable contributions to the study of venues for Roman public entertainment and to whose work this study is indebted generally for its

[57] Dodge 2014a, 298; 2014b, 566; König 2005; Newby 2005; As Dodge (2014a) notes, "*stadia* in the Roman world have yet to receive any comprehensive treatment."

inspiration. That being said, by largely approaching Roman public entertainment venues in the same ways as their predecessors, many scholars have inadvertently limited their potential to push study of their subject material in new more nuanced directions. This study thus applies Actor-Network-Theory to an analysis of Roman public entertainment venues in Macedonia and Thrace to emphasize that these public buildings hosted a variety of different interactions, as recent studies of entertainment venues do more consistently than in the past. This study also uses ANT to argue that this multifunctionality, when coupled with diverse crowds' use of these structures, led them to actively participate in urban life. When these two points are reinforced, entertainment venues become a highly suitable lens through which to examine the varied effects that participation in a Roman imperial network had on Macedonia and Thrace's urban landscapes.

In his 2014 article on the application of place theory to Roman monuments, Darrel Rohl echoes my criticism of limitations in past studies of Roman public entertainment venues with regard to Roman sites and monuments in general. He writes that in scholarship these spaces:

> are often pigeon-holed, branded and carefully circumscribed by chronological and thematic parameters that allow for simple and digestible messaging, but this practice establishes and reinforces a reductionist perspective in which only certain periods and functions are seen to really matter.[58]

In many past studies of Roman public entertainment venues, there is a reductionist tendency to largely discuss venues in isolation from their surrounding archaeological contexts, when they were used in the High Empire (2nd – late 3rd century AD), and as socio-political arenas for the reinforcement of local elite and imperial authority. The chronological and functional limitations that past scholarship has commonly imposed on entertainment venues across the Roman Empire

[58] Christie 2009, 221; Rohl 2014, 1; Christie echoes this sentiment at the beginning of his article.

are also partly caused by greater emphasis on architectural than artifactual evidence. This is symptomatic of a lack of extensive excavations around some entertainment venues and of poor artifact collection strategies in the past excavations of others.

Increasingly more scholars offer inspiration for ways forward from past limitations. For instance, along with reviewing the remains of known entertainment venues in Bulgaria, Vagalinsksi also looks at a variety of artifacts (e.g. game-givers' honorific monuments, performers' funerary markers, and sculptural representations of performers) to demonstrate how the popularity of athletic events, gladiatorial games, and animal hunts was manifested in Thrace.[59] He thus highlights examples of how human interactions in and around entertainment venues led to the production of forms of public commemoration and consumer goods. Similarly, while describing Puteoli's Flavian amphitheater, Bomgardner uses inscribed door jambs found in the arena and an in-situ mosaic to argue that the structure's substructure rooms were used as guild meeting spaces.[60] Vagalinski and Bomgardner thus consider the archaeological contexts of the entertainment venues they discuss and link them to some extent to the interactions these structures accommodated. My desire to do so to a greater extent explains why my study focuses on a few sites in Macedonia and Thrace. Inconsistency in the kinds and number of artifact assemblages, structures, and spaces that have been found around these sites' entertainment venues necessitates this study's geographically wide sampling strategy.

The need for archaeologists to more carefully look out for evidence in and around entertainment venues that points to the interactions these buildings hosted is made further apparent when one considers that entertainment venues were more than political tools that touted

[59] Vagalinski 2009, Figs. 75, 56A-123, 127-36.

[60] Bomgardner 2000, 79-80; The mosaic mentions the *scabillarii*, who wore shoes with attached castanets, while the inscriptions mention Dionysiac priests (*schola orgiophantorum*) and the guild of master mariners (*navicularii*).

the "power of the emperor" to provincial cities. With this limited point-of-view, Bomgardner easily could have overlooked the evidence he uses to show how Puteoli's Flavian amphitheater bolstered a sense of community among non-elite sub-groups. Similarly, Nick Bateman calls attention to shrines near Londinium's amphitheater to emphasize its role as a focal point for cult worship.[61] Magnetometry and ground-penetrating radar along the street leading to Carnuntum's amphitheater have also revealed commercial structures (e.g. inns, shops, and *thermopolia*) that were built to cater to the building's large audiences.[62] These are only a few examples of how a growing number of scholars are realizing the need to consistently bring up the different interrelated functions that entertainment venues served in their communities. This is why I include the *odeum* in my study; this building's capacity to host city council meetings made it no more political than a theater, amphitheater, stadium, or circus.

As for political interactions in public entertainment venues, recent authors have increasingly approached these in more nuanced ways than simply focusing on their role in promoting provincial spectators' allegiance to the emperor. For example, Peter Rose considers how differently-sized spaces would have been allotted to spectators in the Theater of Marcellus, the Circus Maximus, and the Colosseum based on their wealth. He concludes that each entertainment venue hosted a differently composed audience. More specifically, he argues that less seating was allotted to lower class spectators in the Theater of Marcellus than in the Colosseum. This conclusion suggests that some types of venues could have been designed to selectively shape the thinking of more affluent members of society through performances.[63]

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[61] Bateman 2009, 159-162; Bateman's article is in Wilmott, ed. 2009, which contains several entries that approach Roman amphitheaters and their entertainments in new ways.

[62] Urbanus 2017, 16.

[63] Rose 2005, 99-100, 118, 126-7.

Another example of a more nuanced approach to entertainment venue's accommodation of political interactions is Fagan's look at crowd dynamics at public entertainments. In his study he draws attention to how a sense of unified civic community arose from spectators' shared experiences and not only a greater awareness of the hierarchical differences among them (based on wealth, profession, legal status, etc.). Similarly, in her 2016 dissertation Mali Skotheim stresses that festivals featuring dramatic performances could make an audience feel united at the same time as various groups in the audience felt their own senses of sub-community. While I do discuss the capacity of public entertainment venues to reinforce a social hierarchy and support for imperial authority in Macedonian and Thracian cities, I make sure to emphasize that these structures were also political in other ways. I particularly emphasize how they could promote senses of a unified civic community/civic pride and of sub-community identity.[64]

Many studies on Roman public entertainment venues end in the 4th century AD, at the end of which century most of these buildings ceased to host performances and became ruined. Some scholars, however, consider what happened to the remains of entertainment venues in the 5th – 6th centuries AD. Bomgardner, for example, relates how some amphitheaters in North Africa were reused into the Middle Ages. Similarly, Neil Christie discusses how amphitheaters in western provinces were widely reused as cemeteries, houses, workshops, and storage. He also notes how imperial edicts attempted to save old public buildings like amphitheaters from ruin and quarrying.[65] What happened to entertainment venues in Late Antiquity is usually included in discussions of spoliation of old public buildings across the Roman Empire at this time. Joseph Alchermes and Arnold Esch are among scholars who promote the view that the reuse of a public

[64] Fagan 2011; Skotheim 2016, 121-8; See the section of Skotheim's third chapter entitled "The Benefactors and the Audience: The Whole and the Part."

[65] Christie 2009, 221-32; This is another article in Wilmott, ed. 2009.

building could be both practical and symbolic of its former prestige.[66]

In short, what to me makes the work of the above scholars innovative and correctives to the "pigeon-holing" of Roman public entertainment venues is how this work suggests that these structures shaped larger ideas in society and not only reflected them. Using Latour's terminology, studies such as these move away from the trend of treating entertainment venues only as intermediaries rather than as frequent mediators.[67] By drawing on Actor-Network-Theory, I more explicitly present entertainment venues as settings that not only accommodated human interactions of various kinds, which I categorize as cultural, political, religious, and economic, but also actively participated in them. Structural features and changes, sculptural decoration, and inscriptions in entertainment venues document this wide variety of interactions.

I emphasize that, through their mediation of the interactions they accommodated, Roman public entertainment venues shaped their urban landscapes by informing how people thought about life in their cities and their cities' places in wider regional and interregional networks. That entertainment venues did this is evidenced by the various new material forms (i.e. built spaces, structures, monuments, and consumer goods) that were produced in or brought by trade to their urban landscapes because of their mediation. In their decorations and/or inscriptions, these material forms also represent people that entertainment venues helped to contribute to their cities. Since they were manifestations of people's encounters of each other at public festivals, new material forms were in turn capable of shaping their urban landscapes much like the entertainment venues that had occasioned them. I also hold that public entertainment venues continued to shape their cities when largely abandoned in the late 4th – late 6th century AD. I

[66] Alchermes 1994; Esch 2016.

[67] Latour 2005, 39.

contend that they were reused in Late Antiquity predominantly as quarries and plots for new public buildings, churches, and non-elite neighborhoods because cities' collective memories acknowledged them as contributors to past civic vitality.

As a caveat, it should be noted that Macedonia and Thrace's public entertainment venues were not always mediators of the interactions they accommodated. In Latour's words, at any given performance or assembly they did not necessarily "transform, translate, distort, [or] modify the meaning[s] or the elements they [were] supposed to carry" but may have simply allowed for the transmission of ideas as intermediaries.[68] In other words, at every performance there would have been some spectators and performers for whom the setting of the entertainment venue may have not much affected the ideas they gained from interfacing with each other. New material actors would not have been produced from Macedonia and Thrace's entertainment venues acting as intermediaries rather than mediators. Thus, these structures' continued use and structural modifications are evidence for the times they simply transmitted ideas rather than shaping them.

On the other hand, Roman public entertainment venues were most likely much more commonly mediators for the interactions they hosted; after all, these structures were popular, emotionally-charged foci for urban activity across the Roman Empire. This explains why they spread to large cities across the Mediterranean and were periodically updated between the late 1st and early 4th century AD. The structural forms and decorations of Roman public entertainment venues also catered to specific kinds of gatherings (see below). This architectural tailoring primed these buildings to closely guide these gatherings' courses and outcomes and to thus gain a sense of agency through the varied activity of its human users. Moreover, although Roman entertainment venues can be assigned to standard types, there was a high degree of variability

[68] Latour 2005, 39-40.

among individual examples. This variation, which is exemplified by the entertainment venues discussed in this study, indicates that local preference was taken into account in an entertainment venue's design process. This specialization allowed the building to better participate in the interactions it hosted in a particular local urban network. Thus, the widespread and enduring popularity of Roman entertainment venues as public buildings and their tailoring to specific performances and local tastes suggest that they regularly augmented the experiences they hosted.

Furthermore, the shaping effects of public entertainment venues on their urban landscapes in Macedonia and Thrace were most likely widespread given the sizeable numbers and diverse composition of the audience members and performers who frequented them. The experiences of each performer or spectator was enhanced by visual, verbal, and physical contact with those amassed around them. Each performer or spectator, then, was quite likely to have come away from a performance with a different set of ideas in mind. As Richard Beacham puts it, "the ordinary spectator's perception was modulated by and *through* the presence of a group of important moral and divine guests as well as by the evocative setting of the entertainments."[69] Each spectator and performer was then able to act on those ideas – both consciously and subconsciously – in different ways and with varied material outcomes. Audience size and composition also changed with each performance, leading to differences in how people responded to one another and to the venues in which they were accommodated. These interactions were able to evoke slightly or even significantly different ideas in individuals or groups of people than interactions on previous occasions. This in turn would have prompted the introduction of different material expressions in an entertainment venue's surroundings.

Central to this dissertation, then, is an exploration of how public entertainment venues in

[69] Beacham 1999, 27; The same sentiment is noted by Marshall (2006, 73-82) when he stresses the importance of audience feedback to variability in the performance of Roman comedy.

Macedonia and Thrace shaped their urban landscapes by providing certain parameters for people to see, hear, and move and be in close proximity to one another. An idea in Actor-Network-Theory that is particularly helpful for my thinking about entertainment buildings in this regard is that an object or idea is a "technology," which is a set of connections/interactions that have been rendered into durable form. This form is resistant (but not immune) to change and thus can reliably and continually replicate the specific associations from which it arose.[70] Michael Guggenheim argues that whole buildings are also technologies since they are designed to fulfill specific functions. A public entertainment venue is a technology because its design provides a standard form for interactions between spectators and performers. Guggenheim asserts, however, that buildings are more open to change than other technologies because they have many parts that can be acted upon and changed by separate associations with people, creating additional functions for the building.[71] This conception of buildings is useful as an explanative model for how entertainment venues afforded various interactions/had a variety of functions.

When one thinks of a theater, amphitheater, stadium, circus, or *odeum*, their capacity to host performances for a large group of people first comes to mind. The capacity of these performances to prompt spectators and performers to favor and keep in mind various ideals, traits, behaviors, and lessons – that is, to promote the spread of shared values/institutions – is what scholarship commonly categorizes as entertainment venues' primary "cultural" function. All of these structures gained particular stabilized forms and thus became popular building types because of the repetition of a composite interaction: many people gathering together at a fixed location to watch others interact in preconceived ways (aka, perform). I say composite because

[70] Guggenheim 2010, 163-4; Latour 2005; Rydin and Tate 2016, 8; A technology can also be called a "black box."

[71] 2010, 163-5; Given this weaker resistance to change, Guggenheim calls buildings "quasi-technologies." Again, as in place theory it is the lived experience of a space that gives it meaning, transforming it into place (Rohl 2014, 3-7).

this interaction, which produced Roman public entertainment venues as whole actors, consisted of several other interactions, which led to the structural articulation of these structures' parts.

Basically, these interactions were contact of various kinds between human actors (e.g. audio-visual and physical) and their movement to and through and presence in a particular space. These basic interactions coalesced into clusters that manifested in Roman entertainment architecture. Thus, people watching performances, which entailed them sitting, focusing on performances, and reacting to them together, led to the structural articulation of a rounded and tiered seating area. Likewise, verbal and physical contact among performers produced the flat, central performance space shared by all entertainment venues, albeit in differing forms. Lastly, spectators' viewing of and verbal and mental reactions to performers were structurally facilitated by a barrier between the seating and performance areas. In Macedonia and Thrace, this barrier was most often a podium wall that could be surmounted by a netting system.[72]

Once these clustered interactions between spectators and performers made public entertainment venues specific building types, these buildings sustained these interactions with their particularly shaped parts. Most of the theaters in this study were built or modified to consistently host dramatic performances, gladiatorial battles, and animal hunts. Since an entertainment venue was a collection of parts open to different interactions, however, it could be modified. Structural modifications are thus evidence that an entertainment venue was able to shape the interpersonal connections it hosted while also being shaped by them.

The same basic interactions that constituted the cultural function of an entertainment venue – its capacity to encourage spectators and performers to consider and derive values from

[72] Marshall 2006, 78, 82; Marshall imagines, for example, the vibrant, lived experience of a Roman comedy, drawing attention to various factors that came together on such occasions: the movements and costumes of the actors, stage design, lighting, music, ambient noise, crowd density, spectators observing one another, olfactory stimuli (e.g. food or body odor), and lines of sight between spectators and performers.

various traits and themes such as leisure, martial skill, athleticism, and justice – also gave it its political function. This is because during public entertainments, the large cross-sections of a city's inhabitants and visitors that had gathered together would have been prompted to think about their relationships with one another. This is especially the case for those entertainment venues that also hosted civic assemblies or town council meetings. One prominent idea that would have emerged from such contemplation is that urban life was hierarchical based on factors such as wealth, profession, office-holding, and legal status. This would have been seen in how local or visiting wealthy magistrates sat in the front rows of a seating area or in a special box while people of varying lesser means and professions sat in the upper rows.[73]

Additionally, spectators would have been set apart noticeably from performers onstage or in the orchestra, arena, or track. Spectators and performers also either used different entrances into an entertainment venue or entered the structure at different times. This physical separation was able to promote three overlapping ideas. First, it was able to reinforce for spectators the idea that they were of higher status because performers' public services as entertainers made them unclean and disgraced (*infames*). Second, separation between spectators and performers in an entertainment venue could have had the opposite, counter-hierarchical effect of encouraging spectators to esteem performers because their professional skills set them apart from everyone else. Third, performers' confinement to specific parts of an entertainment building such as a theater's *scaena* and *orchestra* was able to fuel a sense of professional community among them.

[73] Janakievski 1998, 84; 1987, 27; Sear 2006, 5-6, 12; Small 1987, 86-8; Vespignani 2001, 2; To be clear, then, when I refer to an entertainment venue's cultural function or the cultural interactions it hosted, I have in mind this narrowly defined conception of "cultural." As I note below, I have defined "cultural" in this way – and have separated it from "political," "religious," and "economic" – in an attempt to break down the various aspects of Roman public entertainment venues' multivalent mediation of the human interactions they accommodated. As I reiterate below, however, this categorization is artificial. In reality, every interaction in which an entertainment venue participated, like other interactions that went on in the building's city, can be classified in multiple ways and even "cultural" in general.

Furthermore, by allowing large crowds of diverse people to see, talk to, or have physical contact with each other when they gathered for performances, an entertainment venue could convey a sense of unified civic community. Giorgio Vespignani refers to this possibility when he writes that during games in Constantinople's hippodrome, all spectators experienced a ritualized sense of freedom from hierarchical constraints at the same time as the hippodrome's seating and performance space were promoting these constraints.[74] Similarly, C.W. Marshall writes in reference to audience composition at Plautine comedies in Rome that "there exists a tension between the solidarity created when a group of spectators become an audience and the genuine diversity of experience that the spectators possess."[75] A public entertainment venue could thus serve as a civic monument, that is to say as a symbol and source of a sense of identity and pride based on one's participation in city life, even when it was not hosting performances.

Such a sense of shared involvement in urban life despite status distinctions of course challenged the social hierarchy that a venue helped to create. How it could do so in the case of performers has already been mentioned. This effect is at times referred to in this study as an entertainment venue's "democratizing effect" or "democratic appeal." The challenge that a sense of shared civic pride posed for a city's hierarchy came from how it would have overlapped with and bolstered the sense of sub-community an entertainment venue was able to promote among the many non-elite spectators it accommodated. On the one hand, an entertainment venue provided a space for a city's elites to present themselves as leaders of and providers for non-elites. On the other hand, by positioning non-elites behind elites in its seating area, an

[74] Vespignani 2001, 2; "La costrizione sociale degli ordini, della gerarchia, della miseria e della ricchezza, si sfalda nella magia di una libertà ritualizzata nella apparizione delle incarnazioni dell'ordine."

[75] Marshall 2006, 78; Marshall also notes as I do that in terms of the cultural values comedies imparted to spectators, "heterogenous appreciation characterizes the audience's engagement and arises directly from its diversity."

entertainment venue also allowed the former to gain an awareness of their greater number in comparison to the latter. Thus, the sense of non-elite sub-community a public entertainment building was able to promote would have included the idea that elites' elevated roles were ultimately at the service of their community's more numerous non-elite voices.

Bolstered by a sense of unified civic community, the sense of sub-community an entertainment venue was able to promote among non-elites empowered them to express their opinions to an extent not possible elsewhere in their cities. This was most commonly how an entertainment venue's "democratizing effect" challenged the social hierarchy the building helped to create. As in Thessalonica and Constantinople's hippodromes, however, people's encounters with one another during performances sometimes prompted them to challenge the political status quo more overtly through riots. The challenges to social hierarchy that entertainment venues afforded still fueled the maintenance and even expansion of urban life because they fueled the give-and-take relationship between elites and non-elites that was inherent to Roman urbanism.[76]

Like all public entertainment venues across the Roman Empire, those in Macedonia and Thrace also mediated interactions between humans and gods (aka entertainment venues' religious function). This is because gods were represented by statues or shrines or verbally invoked in performances or the processions that opened and closed festivals. Such encounters with deities would have encouraged a spectator or performer to think about their relationship with the divine and what it meant for life in their city, province, and across the Roman Empire. These thoughts were able to bring about the production of material expressions of religious devotion and its perceived importance for Roman urbanism. For example, spectators and performers in Macedonian and Thracian entertainment venues frequently encountered images

[76] Toner 2014, 453-4, 456, 459; Toner discusses this dual importance of public performances and how they thus stabilized relations between non-elites and elites with local, regional, and imperial administrative roles.

and invocations of Dionysos and Nemesis. The former's patronage of leisure was able to convince people that his worship promoted urban prosperity. Nemesis' role as a protector of order and good fortune with deities like Nike would have promoted her cult among cities' inhabitants as well. The same can be said about the imperial cult, with which that of Nemesis was aligned in gladiatorial games and animal hunts. All public entertainments would have promoted the imperial cult as vital for urban success at local, regional, and imperial scales.

After emperors endorsed Christianity in the early 4th century AD, acclamations and images of the emperor and the presence of local elites who had adopted Christianity – but not the presence of Christian leaders – made it possible for entertainment venues to promote this religion in place of traditional Roman polytheism. In the case of most of Macedonia and Thrace's public entertainment venues, the capacity of people's interactions at public festivals to promote Christianity did not continue past the late 4th century AD. In this respect only Constantinople's hippodrome remained to advocate for the Christianity-inspired urbanism that spread across a drastically rearranged Roman Empire in the 4th – 6th centuries AD.

Lastly, public entertainment venues in Macedonian and Thracian cities also hosted economic interactions and promoted them in their surroundings. They thus promoted the idea in their cities and provinces that successful urbanism entailed healthy and varied economic activity. One notable way these structures facilitated economic interactions in their cities and provinces is by prompting elites to patronize performers (e.g. gladiatorial troupes, actors' guilds, and traveling athletes) to fund the capture and maintenance of wild animals. These interactions would have contributed new people and animals to entertainment venues' urban landscapes. Macedonia and Thrace's entertainment venues also shaped their urban landscapes by prompting some spectators to commission monuments from local craftsmen that in some way commemorated

their cities, prominent individuals (of local, regional, and interregional importance), performers, sub-communities (e.g. a particular city tribe), and various deities. These monuments were then set up in or around an entertainment venue and across its city.

A third significant way by which Macedonia and Thrace's entertainment venues shaped their urban landscapes by accommodating economic interactions arose from how the performances and assemblies they hosted would have brought together large crowds. These crowds would have included not only entire urban populations but also inhabitants of cities' hinterlands and other cities across Macedonia and Thrace. These spectators would have been joined to some extent by visitors from other areas of the Roman Empire.

Performances in Macedonia and Thrace's entertainment venues thus provided fairly regular and potentially quite lucrative opportunities for craftsmen and merchants to sell various locally-produced and imported consumer goods like ceramic lamps, tablewares, and figurines. Food vendors also would have been drawn to such opportunities to sell "concessions" to festival-goers. Some evidence for permanent stores and/or workshops and for plazas or wide streets where vendors could set up stalls was found in proximity to entertainment venues at this study's main sites. This evidence thus suggests that public festivals in Macedonia and Thrace's entertainment venues drew the attention of merchants and craftsmen from across cites (and perhaps their hinterlands). Overall, then, by motivating production and commerce, entertainment venues in Macedonia and Thrace shaped their local urban networks by helping to enroll new people, animals, structures, monuments, and consumer goods into them.

All the ideas that public entertainment venues' functions (cultural, political, religious, economic) formulated among the populations of Macedonian and Thracian cities joined together to shape these structures' urban landscapes. The various functions of Macedonia and Thrace's

entertainment venues thereby together strengthened their local urban networks and the wider regional and interregional ties in which they participated. I thus contend that each of the different kinds of interaction accommodated by entertainment venues were equally important for these structures' mediatory potential. In my analysis of sites' entertainment venues, however, I discuss these functions in the order in which I have just laid them out. Despite departing from the traditional "pigeon-holing" of these structures, the assignment of the interactions they hosted and these interactions' material effects to four broad functions is still somewhat restrictive. This choice risks underrepresenting the multifunctionality of the interactions among people, objects, and features in these buildings but was made for ease of analysis and communicability.

To decrease this risk, when discussing each of an entertainment venue's functions I introduce evidence for the effects that function seems to have had on surrounding spaces, structures, and monuments and goods associated with urban life. One function may have been more directly responsible for a particular material effect than another, and so this material effect is introduced in connection to this function. However, most of the new material forms that arose from entertainment venues' mediation are attributed here to more than one function. This means that this study's discussion at times returns to a previously introduced building, monument, or artifact. For example, a funerary stele for a deceased gladiator attests to the general public's high valuation of qualities such as martial skill and athleticism and so is introduced in the discussion of a particular theater's mediation of cultural interactions. This monument is addressed again in connection with this theater's political function, however, since the stele also expresses a sense of sub-community among the gladiators, associated staff, and loved ones who lived in (or were perhaps visiting) that theater's city. In the end, the diverse interactions that constituted the functions of public entertainment venues in Macedonia and Thrace were as intertwined as the

other interactions in the local urban networks in which these monumental structures were set.

From the late 4th to late 6th century AD, ruined public entertainment venues continued to shape their urban landscapes in ways that accorded with new financial and safety constraints, changes to forms of local and regional urban administration, and new ideas of community organization inspired in large part by Christianity. Entertainment venues' ruins were predominantly reused as stone quarries and plots for new public building projects – including Christian churches – and as foundations for non-elite neighborhoods. Ostensibly, the practical need for good quality and relatively easily accessible building material motivated the quarrying of entertainment venues for Christian churches and public structures like fortifications and streets. Likewise, wide streets and squares around entertainment venues and the large and small spaces of which these buildings were composed provided convenient construction sites for variously-sized Christian churches and simple houses and domestic workshops for non-elites.

I contend, however, that it was not only practicality that drove the reuse of ruined entertainment venues' materials and spaces in Late Antique Macedonia and Thrace. It was also cities' collective memories of how their entertainment venues had once fueled urban vitality through their cultural, political, religious, and economic functions. These collective memories would have been informed by the personal experiences of older urban inhabitants who had frequented their city's entertainment venue(s), the accounts they and their children passed on, and rumors and news about performances in entertainment venues in other areas of the Mediterranean, such as the hippodrome at Constantinople.

Entertainment venues' reused blocks and in-situ remains would have been highly visible in ways that were able to prompt such communal recollections. Seats, columns, and other blocks from entertainment venues were on display in fortification wall exteriors, street pavements, and

the apses, doorways, and side aisles of churches. In-situ parts of seating and performance areas would have remained discernible to passersby in the 5th and 6th centuries AD, despite being obscured by quarrying and erosion and intentional fill. I thus see reuse of ruined entertainment venues as being driven by urban populations' conscious attempt to promote their cities' prosperity in the present by regularly recalling past prosperity as it was supported by entertainment venues. Collective memory, then, re-integrated ruined entertainment venues into their surroundings and allowed them to continue shaping the forms and meanings of Late Antique urbanism in Macedonia and Thrace.

Outline of the Dissertation

My analysis is laid out in seven chapters. Chapter Two addresses the development of urban networks in Macedonia from the beginning of sustained Roman political and military involvement in the region in the early 2nd century BC until the late 1st century AD after Thrace became a province. Chapter Three addresses the same topic in the same centuries with regard to Thrace. Chapters Two and Three thus cover the processes that integrated Macedonia and Thrace into the Roman Empire between the early 2nd century BC and late 1st century AD and how these processes facilitated and challenged urbanization in these regions.

Chapter Two and Three's discussions of urban development in Early Roman Macedonia and Pre- and Early Roman Thrace are thus organized according to the processes that were initiated by the Roman state to establish Macedonia and Thrace as provinces. I see these processes as coalescing into three categories: frequent conflicts between Roman armies and peoples in Thrace and around Macedonia and Thrace, the Roman state's coopting of roadways, and the foundation of formal and encouragement of informal veteran colonies. Chapter Three first addresses how the various interactions these processes occasioned in and around

Macedonia, incidentally and with the intention of the Roman state, complicated and encouraged urbanization in Thrace before it was a province. This chapter then turns to how these three processes shaped urban development in Thrace after it became a province in the mid-1st century AD. In both Chapters Two and Three, this study's main and comparison sites are introduced in connection with the process that most ostensibly contributed to their urban development.

Chapters Two and Three also briefly address how some of this study's sites grew as urban centers in the mid-4th – early 2nd century BC. This is necessary for three reasons. Because of Macedonia and Thrace's geographical proximity, the interactions that allowed for the expansion of local urban networks across them in these roughly two centuries also entailed the development of close interregional ties. This explains why their enrollment into a Roman imperial network continued apace, although Macedonia was declared a Roman province in the mid-2nd century BC and Thrace around two centuries later. Moreover, the urban development that some of this study's sites experienced in the mid-4th to early 2nd century BC was associated with and in part caused by the territorial expansion of the independent Kingdom of Macedon under Philip II and his successors. Thus, this development – particularly the building campaigns it entailed – looked forward in kind to those that would occur regularly in Macedonia and Thrace when they were under Roman imperial administration. Finally, it was also during building campaigns in the second half of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC that entertainment venues were first introduced as network actors at urban centers in Macedonia like Philippi, Dion, Pella, and Aigai.

Chapters Two and Three thus introduce the urban landscapes that produced public entertainment venues in Macedonia and Thrace. Chapters Four through Seven analyze how these structures helped to drive their cities' further development as urban network actors from the late 1st – early 2nd to the early 4th century AD. Chapter Four covers the public entertainment venues at

Philippi and Heraclea Lyncestis in Macedonia while Chapter Five rounds off this chapter's discussion by covering the entertainment venues at Stobi and Thessalonica. in Thrace. Chapters Six and Seven similarly function together in their analysis of the multifunctional mediation of the entertainment venues at this study's main sites in Thrace. Chapter Six covers the examples of Philippopolis and Diocletianopolis and Chapter Seven those of Serdica and Augusta Traiana.

In Chapters Four through Seven, the structural development of each main site's entertainment venue(s) is first outlined chronologically according to urbanization horizons. Then, spaces, structures, and artifacts from these structures' urban landscapes are presented as material manifestations of their mediation of the cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions they accommodated. These chapters review the structural features, sculptural decoration, and inscriptions that facilitated entertainment venues' multifunctional mediation. This study's comparison entertainment venues are referenced *ad hoc* to bolster analysis of those at this study's main sites. In this way, Chapters Four through Seven address what entertainment venues' multifunctional mediation meant for experiences of Roman urbanism in Macedonia and Thrace.

Finally, Chapter Eight ends the dissertation with the argument that collective memory of how this study's public entertainment buildings shaped their urban landscapes in the late 1st – early 4th century AD guided their reuse in the late 4th – 6th century AD. This chapter thus covers how these ruined structures helped to create new senses of Late Antique urbanism in Macedonia and Thrace – and to thereby promote these regions' participation in a changing Roman imperial network – in ways that were reminiscent of how they had done so in earlier centuries. Overall, Chapter Eight is meant to end the dissertation by reinforcing that its approach to Roman archaeology, guided by Actor-Network-Theory, can lead to a more detailed and dynamic understanding of urbanism across the Mediterranean in the late 1st – late 6th century AD.

CHAPTER TWO: URBANIZATION IN EARLY ROMAN MACEDONIA (168 BC – LATE 1ST CENTURY AD)

Introduction

The purpose of the next two chapters is to contextualize the large-scale public building projects that took place across Macedonia (Chapter Two) and Thrace (Chapter Three) in the urbanization horizon of the late 1st – early 2nd century AD. These projects, which notably included the renovation or construction of public entertainment venues, manifested in highly-visible forms the widespread and marked transformations that integration into the Roman Empire catalyzed in these regions' local urban networks. By the late 1st century AD, life at these urban centers was characterized by people, objects, structures, and ideas that made them quite different networks of interactions than they had been in the preceding two centuries. Moreover, these urban landscapes were involved in more regional and interregional connections than previously. The late 1st – early 2nd century AD thus constitutes a definitive *terminus ante quem* for when the regional networks of both Macedonia and Thrace became integrated into the Roman Empire, even though they were made provinces two centuries apart in 146 BC and 46 AD, respectively.

The contemporary large-scale building projects that occurred across Macedonia and Thrace in the late 1st – early 2nd century AD urbanization horizon allowed for increased interactions among a wide variety of people in these regions' urban landscapes. The greater number, size, and quality of new and revitalized structures in some urban centers by this time meant that they had not only grown but had also gained regional prominence as cities. This is the case of most of the sites discussed in this study (except for Diocletianopolis in Thrace, which became a city later). The forms of the many construction projects in Macedonia and Thrace's

urban centers in the late 1st – early 2nd century AD reflected the participation of these projects' local urban networks in regional and interregional ties stimulated by these sites' participation in a Roman imperial network. New and renovated public buildings were intended to host the same wide variety of interactions (cultural, political, religious, and economic) that had led to their urban landscapes' previous growth. Thus, these built spaces promoted the expansion of local urban life in all its aspects while they furthered its connections with the wider Mediterranean.

The construction dates and architecture of the entertainment venues at this study's main sites are discussed in detail in Chapters Four through Seven. This chapter and the next cover the two centuries before the renovation or construction of these public buildings in the late 1st – early 2nd century AD. Chapters Two and Three thus focus on Macedonia and Thrace's concurrent integration into the Roman Empire and how this process facilitated the interactions among increasing numbers of diverse human and non-human actors that made these building projects possible. The numerous and varied human actors mentioned in Chapters Two and Three include Roman generals, soldiers (legionaries and auxiliaries), and Macedonian and Thracian as well as foreign elites, traders, and merchants. The non-human actors discussed as evidence for and participants in interactions among such human actors are equally varied and include buildings, honorific and funerary monuments, and consumer goods (e.g. ceramic vessels and coins).

An especially fruitful time for the expansion of interactions at this study's main sites was seemingly the late 1st century BC into the first half of the 1st century AD. Chapters Two and Three are primarily concerned with this study's main sites: Philippi, Heraclea Lyncestis, Stobi, and Thessalonica in Macedonia and Philippopolis, Diocletianopolis, Serdica, and Augusta Traiana in Thrace (Tables 2 – 3). However, their discussion is also supported by evidence from neighboring sites, particularly those where other entertainment venues are attested (Table 4).

In their treatment of this study's main and comparison sites, the discussions of Chapters Two and Three also include the 4th – 3rd century BC. This is for three important contextual reasons. First, all of these sites existed in some form in these centuries. They were founded variously as Greek colonies, communities patronized by Macedonian kings, or central places among local peoples – some of which also had Macedonian garrisons. They thus represent the variety of the small and medium-sized urban centers that were spread across Macedonia and Thrace before sustained Roman involvement in these regions. Second, these urban centers were involved in wider interactions that were facilitated by their integration into or ties to the interregional network of the Kingdom of Macedon. This connectivity looked forward to and provided a basis for the rearranged regional and interregional interactions that attended Macedonia and Thrace's participation in the Roman Empire. Third, public entertainment venues were first built in Macedonia in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. How these structures shaped their urban landscapes provide precedents for their later mediation of the interactions in part afforded by Macedonia and Thrace's integration into a Roman imperial network. These structures were also precedents for the entertainment venues built across both regions when they were provinces.

In Chapter Two and Three's explorations of Macedonia and Thrace's integration into the Roman Empire, Chapter Two addresses the case of Macedonia between 146 BC (when it became a province) and the late 1st century AD. The circumstances of Macedonia's enrollment into the Roman Empire during this span of time generally coalesces around three region-wide processes that constituted Roman administrative policy in Macedonia but that also had effects on Thrace. While they enrolled Macedonia into the Roman Empire, these three processes also laid the groundwork for large-scale development in both Macedonia and Thrace's local urban networks beginning in the late 1st century AD. This and the next chapter's discussions are thus organized

according to these three processes, which are presented in turn and with reference to the main and comparison sites in this study that were most affected by each process. The evidence presented here – for how the interactions that comprised each process at regional and interregional scales effected urbanization at the local level – is largely archaeological (architectural and artifactual) and epigraphic but also includes literary sources.

The process that is discussed below first is continual military conflict between Roman forces and peoples from regions bordering Macedonia between when Macedonia became a province in 146 BC and the mid-1st century AD when Thrace became a province. This process is discussed first because maintaining military control over Macedonia was the Roman Republic's reason for establishing the region as a directly administered province. Discussion of this first process thus begins with a brief overview of the wars between the Roman Republic and the Kingdom of Macedon that led to Macedonia becoming a province.

The second process discussed below greatly assisted Roman administrators in the first process' success: the coopting of preexisting land routes for army deployment. This discussion is organized around the Via Egnatia since it is the best example of how a Roman "military highway" promoted the movement of many other human actors besides Roman legionaries and auxiliaries into and around Macedonia, such as traders and civilian settlers from eastern and western Roman provinces (Fig. 3). Most of this study's sites in Macedonia are introduced from west to east according to their geographical positions on the Via Egnatia: Heraclea Lyncestis, Lychnidos, Stobi, Aigai, Pella, Thessalonica, Philippi, Thasos, and Maroneia.

The third process that furthered Macedonia's integration into the Roman Empire and urbanization in the province is colonization. Roman leaders formally founded legionary veteran colonies at Dion and Philippi and a civilian colony at Pella in the late 1st century BC. They also

encouraged legionary and auxiliary veterans to settle at other sites like Heraclea and Stobi in the next century in order to bolster their administration of Macedonia. This formal and informal colonization introduced many veterans and material actors (e.g. imported tablewares) from Italy to local urban networks across the province. From 146 BC into the 1st century AD, then, all three processes (frequent warfare with neighboring peoples, the Roman coopting of roadways, and the foundation of colonies) stimulated the proliferation of various interactions among indigenous and immigrant people and objects. This study's main sites in Macedonia – Thessalonica, Philippi, Heraclea Lyncestis, and Stobi – demonstrate how these interactions coalesced at particular sites.

New Urban Networks in Roman Macedonia

Rome's Conflicts with Macedonia and Its Neighbors (215 BC – 46 AD)

The Macedonian Wars (215 – 146 BC)

The Roman Republic's increasing military interventions in Macedonia between the mid-3rd and mid-2nd centuries BC planted the seeds of sustained Roman involvement in the Balkans. By this time, the emergence of central places among local peoples, the aspirations to greater wealth and status of their kings, and Greek colonization on the northern Aegean and western Black Sea coasts had prompted interlinked regional networks of several medium and many smaller urban centers to emerge in Macedonia and Thrace. The First Macedonian War (215 – 205 BC) significantly initiated formal contact between the Roman Republic and the Macedonian kingdom, then ruled by Philip V (r. 221 – 179 BC). Connections among peoples in Italy, Greece, and along the northern Adriatic apparently had become sufficiently frequent by the late 3rd century BC to cause Philip V to fear that such connections threatened the safety and expansion of

his kingdom. The war was also important for leading the Republic to consistently encounter various Thracian tribes through political alliances and armed conflicts in the next decades.[1]

The Second Macedonian War (200 – 197 BC) realized Philip's fears since it marked the formation of political ties between the Republic and Pergamon, Rhodes, and Egypt against his expansion in the northern Aegean. Moreover, after the Battle of Cynoscephalae (197 BC), the Republic made Philip give up his territorial acquisitions and established a more secure political foothold in these areas and Greece through T. Quinctius Flamininus' symbolic grant of freedom to all Greek cities (196 BC).[2] The political ties and defense pacts that this war forged were further strengthened in the next war between the Romans and Antiochus III, who sought to take much of the land that Philip had ceded. Interactions like these included the first steps toward sustained Roman involvement in Thrace. For example, during the wars the Republic first allied with some Thracian tribes like the Sapaei under King Abrupolis. It also had its first conflicts with others like the Astae, Caenia, Maduateni, and Corelli, who attacked Manlius Vulvo's army on its return to Rome after Antiochus' defeat at Magnesia ad Sipylum (190 BC). After the wars, the Republic also weighed in on who would control the communities in Aegean Thrace.[3]

The further development of Rome's political ties with Thracian tribes and urban centers in the northern Aegean in the 180s and 170s precipitated the Third Macedonian War (171 – 168 BC). Continuing his predecessor's expansionist campaigns into Aegean and inland Thrace, King Perseus (r. 179 – 169 BC) deposed Rome's ally Abrupolis and drove a few Thracian tribes to appeal jointly to the Roman Senate for military aid. In the ensuing war, the Romans had

[1] Delev 2015a, 63-4; Drougou 1999, 73; Zahariade 2009, 39.

[2] Livy *Hist.* 33.30.2; 33.32.5-6; Polyb. 18.44-5; Adam-Veleni 2016b, 149; Bouzek 2005, 107; Delev 2015a, 64-5; Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 31; Tacheva 2004, 51; Terzopoulou 2018, 112; Zahariade 2009, 39.

[3] App. *Syr*. 1-44, 224-8; Diod. Sic. *Bib. Hist.* 28.12, 15; 29.5; Livy *Hist.* 33.38.8-14; 36; 37.60.7; 38.40-1; Polyb. 20-1; Bouzek 2005, 107; Delev 2015a, 65-7; Tacheva 2004, 51; Terzopoulou 2018, 112; Zahariade 2009, 39-40.

Thracians like the Sapaei, Maedi, and Astae as allies while Perseus had the support of the largest Thracian tribe the Odrysae under King Kotys, son of Seuthes IV. This last war between an independent Kingdom of Macedon and the Roman Republic thus reflects well both the tumultuous history of political and military interactions between Macedonians and Thracians and the steady increase of Roman involvement in these interactions in the late 3rd – early 2nd century BC. The Battle of Pydna (168 BC) saw Perseus' defeat and the first stage of Macedonia's integration into the Roman Empire. In bringing about the Republic's alliance with the Odrysae and its support of their expansion into neighboring territories, like that of the Sapaei, the Battle of Pydna also galvanized the development of centralized political control over most of Thrace.[4]

Through all these armed conflicts, new human and non-human actors were gradually enrolled in and removed from the wider interregional network in which Macedonia and Thrace and their urban centers were integrated. However, it only seems to have been after the division of Macedonia into four republics/districts (*αἱ μερίδες*) in 167 BC that Roman involvement in Macedonia and its neighboring regions began to bring about changes to what urbanism entailed, first detectable at regional and then at local levels of analysis.[5] The Roman Republic's quartering of Macedonia was an attempt to ensure the region's military and political pacification. To this end, Livy notes that the four districts had relatively strict geographical boundaries and that intermarriage and trade among them were banned. A capital was designated for each at Amphipolis, Thessalonica, Pella, and Pelagonia. Senates at each capital supposedly formulated regional policies in accordance with traditional Macedonian laws and new Roman guidelines.

[4] On Philip V's Thracian campaigns: Livy *Hist.* 39.23.13, 24.6-9, 27.1-10, 28.11-12, 35.4, 53.12-14; Polyb. 23.8.1-7; 22.18.12; On Perseus, Abrupolis, and the Thracian appeal to Rome: App. *Mac.* 11.2; Diod. Sic. *Bib. Hist.* 29.33; Liv. *Hist.* 42.13.6, 19.6-8; Paus. 7.10.6; On Kotys and the Odrysae: Diod. Sic. *Bib. Hist.* 30.3; Livy *Hist.* 45.42.6-12; Polyb. 27.12; 30.17; Adam-Veleni 2016a, 9; 1993, 24; Bouzek 2005, 107; Delev 2015a, 66-7; Janakievksi 1998, 4; Tacheva 2004, 51; Terzopoulou 2018, 112; Zahariade 2009, 41-3.

[5] Bouzek 2005, 107; Tacheva 2004, 51; Vanderspoel 2010, 251.

Aemilius Paullus and the Roman Senate also stipulated that the Macedonian king's elite companions were to become hostages at Rome with their sons who were fifteen or older.[6]

These terms were drastically revised after Macedonia became a province in 146 BC. If the restrictions on interactions among districts had been successfully enacted and maintained between 168 and 146 BC, which seems unlikely, they could have prompted each's urban centers to expand to allow for greater self-reliance. There is no evidence, however, particularly from the districts' capitals, to suggest that the district system encouraged rapid urban development at a local level. Thus, Macedonia's division into four republics was a short-term and ultimately unsuccessful arrangement. Andriscus' reunification campaign prompted the Romans to adopt a modified version of the administrative model of the Kingdom of Macedon for its new province. Perhaps a more lasting effect of the four republics was how they could have encouraged traders, goods, and ideas from other Roman-controlled areas to move more consistently into the region.[7]

Macedonia as a Border Province (146 BC – 46 AD)

Once Macedonia became a province, its enrollment into a Roman imperial network continued in earnest. As is explored below, this integration gradually yielded greater connectivity among the region's communities and between them and others in neighboring regions, most notably Thrace. The first region-wide process that was integral to Macedonia's growing participation in the Roman Empire from the second half of the 2nd into the late 1st century BC was Rome's record of conflicts with Macedonia's neighbors, especially Thracians and peoples

[6] Livy 45.29-32; Strabo *Geog.* 7, fr. 47; Adam-Veleni 2016b, 150; 2016a, 9; 1993, 24; Janakievski 1998, 4; Terzopoulou 2018, 112; Historians like John Vanderspoel think that the districts were retained for a time after 148 BC, but this would not have been for long since direct Roman administrative control made their intent superfluous.

[7] Adam-Veleni 2016a, 10; Lozanov 2015, 75; Tacheva 2004, 51; Vanderspoel 2010, 251-2, 255, 258; The Fourth Macedonian war ended in 148 BC, but Metellus oversaw Macedonia's transition into a province until 146 BC.

from around the Danube. More is said in Chapter Three about how these conflicts contributed to Thrace's integration into the Roman Empire and to its later establishment as a province.

First, however, a caveat is necessary. Although in some ways Rome's struggles with Macedonia's neighbors furthered the province's participation in the Roman Empire, they did not necessarily contribute to increased interactions at and between the province's sites. Literary sources strongly suggest these conflicts at times disrupted connections among communities and thereby destabilized the emerging provincial network. Cicero suggests as much when he alleges that the Denseleti threatened the Via Egnatia, and so the Romans' connection to the Hellespont, when they attacked Thessalonica in the mid-1st century BC.[8] The orator certainly dramatizes the situation to make his audience believe that Macedonia was constantly besieged by "barbarians." His testimony suggests, however, that occasional raids by Macedonia's neighbors did temporarily disrupt the movement of people and goods among the province's communities.

Cicero alleges that L. Piso encouraged raids by antagonizing the Denseleti with military campaigns and by bribing the Thracians and Dardanians.[9] In building a case against Piso, Cicero asserts that Macedonia's boundaries had always been guaranteed by Roman "swords and javelins" and relates that wars with the province's neighbors had been a perennial problem for its

[8] Cic. *De prov. cons.* 4 (*et via illa nostra, quae per Macedoniam est usque ad Hellespontum militaris, non solum excursionibus barbarorum sit infesta, sed etiam castris Thraeciis distincta ac notata*, "and that road of ours, which is a military road through Macedonia up to the Hellespont, was not only infested with barbarian raids but also cordoned off by Thracian encampments"); Collart 1937, 489; Delev 2018, 20; Janakievski 1998, 4.

[9] Cic. *De prov. cons.* 4 (*Macedonia…sic a barbaris, quibus est propter avaritiam pax erepta, vexatur*, "And so Macedonia is vexed by barbarians, who stole away peace because of their greed"), 5 (*consulari imperio atque exercitu ita vexata est vix*, "and so it was forcibly vexed by consular authority and armed forces"); *In Pisonem* 40 (*Macedonia condonata barbaris*, "Macedonia was presented to barbarians"); *Pro Sestio* 43.94 (*alterum Thracibus ac Dardanis primum pacem maxima pecunia vendidisse, deinde, ut illi pecuniam conficere possent, vexandem iis Macedoniam et spoliandam tradidisse*, "first he sold peace to the Thracians and Dardanians for a great amount of money, then, so those men could raise money, he handed over Macedonia to them to be vexed and plundered"); Adam-Veleni 1993, 24-5; Zahariade 2009, 51.

governors.[10] These assertions further suggest that enemies on Macedonia's boundaries at times posed either real or imagined threats to the province's urban centers that complicated their exchanges of people and goods. Cicero's praise of Macedonia's governors before Piso also implies that Rome's answers to these threats could promote interregional interactions, like those between Roman governors and legions and the Macedonian communities that supplied them.

The raids that literary and, to a lesser extent, epigraphic sources record as spreading into Macedonia also could have complicated local urban landscapes' developments because of the threat or infliction of damage on sites' cores and hinterlands. Although sporadic, expected or actual damage could have discouraged immigration to the region, paused trade and craft production, and stalled construction projects. For example, a late 2nd century BC coin hoard found at Stobi under the later Synagogue Basilica (Fig. 17, #15) could have been buried because someone living at or visiting the site feared the loss of their income in a raid. A plausible candidate is the Scordisci's raid of Macedonia in 119 BC.[11] This money represents a lost opportunity for interactions that could have come from its use at Stobi in any number of ways.

Wars between Rome and Macedonia's neighbors thus likely complicated urban development and its expression in material forms at individual sites in the second half of the 2nd – mid-1st century BC. They did not completely prevent urban development, however, and most likely even provided a reason for the highly visible material forms it took later. Indeed, Cicero argued that Macedonia was constantly threatened to advocate for a province that had secure

[10] Cic. *In Pisonem* 17-9, 23; Delev 2018, 25.

[11] *SIG*[3] 700; Mano-Zisi 1973, 200; There is to my knowledge no archaeological evidence that any of my main and comparison sites in Macedonia were damaged in a raid. It seems likely that the hinterlands of some of these sites and others were damaged to some extent. More excavations in these sites' hinterlands and the discovery of relatively clear destruction layers during such excavations would be need to corroborate this possibility. For now, literary sources and scattered archaeological evidence in forms such as the coin hoard from Stobi only hint that local urban development could have been complicated at times by military disturbances at a regional level.

borders, required little Roman military presence, and held towns free to grow without the threat of rapacious barbarians or governors.[12] Macedonia was such a province by the mid-1st century AD, which attests that those who lived in the region's urban centers participated in the actualization of this Roman administrator's viewpoint. There certainly were Macedonians who were ambivalent or opposed to Roman authority. However, the desire to see one's livelihood and community successful despite exterior threats would have been sufficient motivation for many elites and non-elites to collaborate with imperial authorities to advance local urban growth, albeit in some cases likely begrudgingly in Macedonia's first decades as a province.

The Roman Coopting of Macedonia's Roadways

The second process behind Roman imperial policy for integrating the province of Macedonia into the Empire was the coopting of a land route from the Adriatic to the northern Aegean. This "military highway" (*via militaris*) was paved and named the Via Egnatia after an early governor of Macedonia. This seems to have occurred between 146 and the last two decades of the 2nd century BC when Polybius died since he details the road's course. For Roman administrators, the main purpose of the Via Egnatia was to facilitate troop movement through Macedonia and into Asia. Other roads budding from it could also take troops toward Thrace, the Danube, the Black Sea, and Greece. The road thus reflected and actively furthered Macedonia's integration into a Roman imperial network. Cicero acknowledges this when he calls it "that road of ours" (*via illa nostra*). Through their inscriptions that recorded Egnatius and Roman emperors' names later, the Via's milestones indicated the same to those who travelled it.[13]

[12] Cic. *De prov. cons.* (*hanc Macedoniam…pacatam ipsam per se et quietam, tenui praesidio atque exigua manu etiam sine imperio per legatos nomine ipso populi Romani tuebamur*).

[13] Cic. *De prov. cons.* 4; *In Pisonem* 17.40; Polyb. 34; Strabo *Geogr.* 7.7.4; Adam-Veleni 2016a, 11; Collart 1937, 488-90, 492; Giorgievska and Nasuh 2016, 72; Haensch 2018, 3, 12; Lolos 2009, 264-6, 277; Vanderspoel 2010,

The Via Egnatia, however, did much more than facilitate wars with Macedonia's neighbors. The ideas that these conflicts promoted, such as obeisance to Roman hegemony or security from raiding parties, also do not fully account for the shapes that Macedonia's local urban landscapes took over time. These conflicts and the actors involved in them constitute a small part of the Via Egnatia's mediation on a regional scale as an embodiment of a greater sense of interregional connection. Travelers along the road included not only Roman generals and legions but also traders, intellectuals, and immigrants who travelled between east and west. Whether such people left or stayed, they and the objects and ideas they brought with them drove various new interactions in Macedonia's towns. This is suggested by various kinds of finds from this study's main sites, such as honorific and funerary monuments, ceramic vessels and coins.[14]

The Via Egnatia – Heraclea Lyncestis

From its western ends at Dyrrachium and Apollonia, the Via Egnatia snaked east through the mountains to Lychnidos and Heraclea Lyncestis in the Lynk valley (Fig. 3).[15] As it had in the Kingdom of Macedon, this valley held a northern-central position in the Roman province of Macedonia from the mid-2nd century BC – late 3rd century AD. Heraclea itself is located on the top and southeastern slope of a mountain foothill overlooking the modern Siva Voda River (Fig. 16).[16] Based on a note about Philip II's campaign in Illyria in Demosthenes' First Philippic, J.

265; Zarmakoupi 2018, 263-4; Publications on the Via Egnatia include M. Fasolo (ed.) 2003, N.H.H. Sitwell 1981, F. O'Sullivan 1972, and the 2009 conference publication *Via Egnatia Revisited*, in which is Lolos' article.

[14] Adam-Veleni 1993, 24; Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 187-8; Di Napoli 2018, 321; Lolos 2009, 270-3, 277; Zarmakoupi 2018, 263-4.

[15] Collart 1937, 490-1; Giorgievska and Nasuh 2016, 71-2; Janakievski 1998, 41; Lolos 2009, 267-8; Malenko 1981, 17; O'Sullivan 1972, Fig. 2; Papazoglou 1957, 190; Vanderspoel 2010, 266; Besides from Strabo and Polybius, the Via's general course is known from extant *Itineraria*, milestones, and excavated portions.

[16] Giorgievska and Nasuh 2016, 69-70; Janakievski 1998, 3; 1987, 11; *Macedonian Cultural Heritage* 2008, 44; Mikulčić 2007, 19, 21; The Lync valley is east of the modern Lakes Ohrid and Prespa in the southwestern corner of North Macedonia.

Beloch proposed that the king founded Heraclea in 344 BC as a fortified garrison, a proposal that archaeologists at the site have hoped to prove since excavations began in 1936.[17] The earliest ceramic and numismatic evidence from the site, however, dates to the late 3rd – 2nd centuries BC. Representing this material are a fragment of an amphora or pithos with the stamp *ΛΥΓΚΕΣ*, a coin minted at Pella between 197 and 168 BC, and Megarian ware vessels. Most of this evidence came from a towered fortification wall on the acropolis that enclosed c. 1.5 – 2 ha. Some of this evidence was found at the acropolis' base, but it was not associated with structural remains.[18]

It seems, then, that Heraclea was founded around the end of the 3rd century BC as a fortified site on the northern boundary of the Kingdom of Macedon. It could have begun as a Macedonian garrison established during Philip V's Illyrian campaigns, and the coin from Pella does indicate some connection to Macedonia; however, this hypothesis remains unproven. In support of the idea, Ivan Mikulčić suggests that Philip V could have named the site in honor of his Heraclid dynasty predecessors to promote a long-standing Macedonian claim to the Lync valley.[19] It is also possible that Heraclea began as a defensive position for local peoples that the Macedonians claimed for a garrison. Thus, the roots of urbanization at Heraclea are unclear but can be attributed on the above architectural and artifactual evidence to interactions including the threat of or actual armed conflict and trade with communities in and outside the Lync valley.

[17] Dem. *Philipp.* I.48 (*ἡμῶν δ' οἱ...φασὶ Φίλιππον...ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς πόλεις τειχίζειν*); Janakievski 2001, 17; 1998, 41; Giorgievska and Nasuh 2016, 71; *Macedonian Cultural Heritage* 2008, 44; Mikulčić 2007, 15; Papazoglu 1988, 260; 1961, 9; 1957, 188; Siganidou 1993, 29.

[18] Giorgievska and Nasuh 2016, 71; Janakievski 1998, 47; 1987, 11; Kalpakovska and Giorgievska 2003, 23, #1 with photo; Mikulčić 2007, 19, 31, 33; Papazoglu 1961, Pl. 1; The stamped fragment (*IG* X 2,1 51) is 2.3 cm thick, 13 cm long, and 7 cm wide; its origin is unknown. The coin was found in a grave on the acropolis' northeast slope while the Megaran ware vessels were found in the lowest layers at the southern base of the acropolis.

[19] Mikulčić 2007, 34-5.

Located to the west of Heraclea on the banks of modern Lake Ohrid, Lychnidos was likely at least a small urban center in the Lync valley when Heraclea was founded. Excavations have revealed the existence of Iron Age settlement in its area, and burials have been found at and around the site that date from the 6th – 2nd centuries BC. Since they contain luxury goods such as gold ritual masks and gold, silver, bronze, and amber objects, they suggest that Lychnidos gained a sizeable and active community of elites over these centuries. The possibility that these elites' interactions had contributed to the emergence of Lychnidos as an urban center by the 4th or 3rd century BC is supported by the likelihood that it gained a Macedonian garrison in this time. A garrison would not have been necessary if there had not been activity at Lychnidos that threatened Macedonian influence in the Lync valley.[20]

Livy writes that in 209 BC a man named Aeropus temporarily seized the garrison, which suggests a *terminus ante quem* for its establishment.[21] The garrison could have been established as early as the third quarter of the 4th century BC when Philip II was campaigning in Illyria or as late as the late 3rd century BC under Philip V. At either time, Lychnidos' existence as a small town and its strategic hill- and lakeside location would explain why the Macedonians fortified it against their northwestern neighbors. Indeed, Strabo highlights Lychnidos' position between Illyria and Macedonia, which intimates that its garrison was meant to guard against an Illyrian uprising.[22] Excavations on Lychnidos' acropolis revealed what could be the walls of a 4th – 3rd

[20] *Macedonian Cultural Heritage* 2008, 52; Mikulčić 2007, 34.

[21] Livy 27.32.9; Kremydi 2012, 287; Livy is the earliest known writer to mention Lychnidos.

[22] Diod. Sic. *Bib. Hist.* 16.4.3 (Philip's Illyrian campaigns); Livy 45.29-30; Strabo *Geogr.* 7.7.4 (*διὰ Λυχνιδοῦ πόλεως καὶ Πυλῶνος τόπου ὁρίζοντος ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τήν τε Ἰλλυρίδα καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν: ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐστὶ παρὰ βαρνοῦντα διὰ Ἡρακλείας καὶ Λυγκηστῶν*), 8 (*αἵ τε λίμναι εἰσὶν αἱ περὶ Λυχνιδὸν*); Kremydi 2012, 287; Mikulčić 2007, 34.

century BC garrison, but later fortification remains make this attribution tenuous.[23] In support of this dating is a masonry tomb similar in building technique to those in Macedonia that was built at the acropolis' foot in the late 4th – early 3rd century BC.[24] Bronze coins imitating Macedonian *tetrobols* and inscribed with *ΛΥΚΝΙΔΙΩΝ* or *ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ* indicate that Macedonians traded with Lychnidians and likely lived among them as well. Sophia Kremydi suggests the plausible scenario that these coins were minted at the site so that soldiers at the Macedonian garrison there could buy rations. Thus, there is a fair amount of circumstantial evidence to support the existence of a Macedonian garrison at Lychnidos, but the date of its establishment is unclear.[25]

It is plausible that Heraclea's beginnings as an urban center were similar to those of Lychnidos, with the main difference between being that the latter seemingly had a more affluent element to its population. Another difference that Vlado Malenko suggests is that Lychnidos also had a theater. Malenko asserts that the theater, which is located on a hill at the eastern foot of the acropolis, was built between the mid-3rd and mid-2nd century BC. This dating, however, is highly suspect because it is based only on the use of large travertine blocks for the first six rows of the *cavea*; the theater's date is reconsidered in Chapter Four.[26]

Once integrated into the Roman Empire, Heraclea likely started to descend the eastern slopes of its acropolis in the late 2nd – 1st century BC because of its position at the junction of the Via Egnatia and a road heading north. Both roads would have brought a variety of people to the site, where they would have contributed to local interactions by settling and exchanging goods

[23] *Macedonian Cultural Heritage* 2008, 55; Most of the extant fortification walls on Lychnidos' acropolis are thought to belong to the fortress of the Bulgarian Tzar Samuil.

[24] Kremydi 2012, 288; *Macedonian Cultural Heritage* 2008, 55.

[25] Janakievski 1998, 37; Kremydi 2012, 289, 292.

[26] Janakievski 2001, 36; 1998, 102; *Macedonian Cultural Heritage* 2012, 55; Malenko 2008, 77; 1981, 24; Rnjak 1979, 57, 144, Cat. #173

and ideas. For example, one foreigner at Heraclea in the 1st century AD was L. Marius Peregrinus, who dedicated a stele to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. His *tria nomina*, use of Latin, and specific choice of deity suggest that Peregrinus was from a western province, perhaps from Italy. He seems to have settled at Heraclea with his family since a 60-year-old with his name and a 30-year-old L. Marius Celer are noted on a 1st century AD Latin funerary stele.[27]

An inscription from Bitola further attests to immigration to Heraclea in the 1st century AD. It records 49 names that are almost evenly split between *tria nomina* and *praenomina*, *cognomina*, and *nomina* with a patronym. These men dedicated the inscription to G. Arbeianus Secundus and call themselves his "friends" (*φίλοι*). It thus seems that Secundus was a prominent elite, which suggests an expanding hierarchy at Heraclea. The *tria nomina* form and kinds of most of the names suggest that a fair number of Heracleans came from western provinces, as the site's archaeologists Anica Giorgievska and Engin Nasuh assert. The *tria nomina* include C. Julius Barbarus, C. Tyrannius Rufus, and C. Cornelius Severus. Among the names with a patronym are Severus (a *cognomen*), son of Lucius; Aurelius (a *nomen*), son of Secundus; and Quintus (a *praenomen*), son of Secundus. Other names like Theophilus, son of Antipater; Antipater, son of Theophilus; and Lysimachus, son of Antigonus, indicate that Heracleans likely came from Macedonia or eastern regions like Asia Minor as well.[28]

Regardless of their origins, Heraclea's inhabitants in the 1st century AD were consumers of imported western *terra sigillata* and lamps and locally manufactured imitations. These have

[27] *IG* X 2,1 54, 79; Kalpakovska and Giorgievska 2003, 24, 46, #3 (*I(ovi) . o(ptimo) . m(aximo)/ L(ucius) . Mari-/ us Pere-/ grinus*), #33 (*L(ucius) Marius Peregri-/ nus* vac. *ann(orum)* vac. *LX/ L(ucius) Marius Celer an(norum) XXX*).

[28] *IG* X 2,1 75 (Dim. 330 x 100 cm); Giorgievska and Nasuh 2016, 72; Kalpakovska and Giorgievska 2003, 40-3, #28 with photo; Machkik and Mikulčić 1961, 53; Mikulčić 2007, 41, 43; Papazoglu 1961, Pl. 2; This Greek inscription was and is still found in a doorway in the modern church of St. Dimitrios.

been found in construction fills for later public buildings like the theater.[29] Thus, it seems that not long before the large-scale expansion of Heraclea's urban landscape beginning in the late 1st century AD, the Via Egnatia had shaped the town's growth in line with wider imperial network trends by bringing to the site settlers, consumer goods, and deities from surrounding provinces.

The Via Egnatia – Stobi

While not on the Via Egnatia, Stobi still hosted increased interactions from the mid-late 2nd century BC because of traffic on the road leading north from Heraclea to Naissus (Fig. 3). Like at Heraclea, the new people, ideas, and objects that passed through and stayed at Stobi helped to draw the site into cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions with the Roman imperial network. This is indicated, for instance, by the aforementioned late 2nd century BC coin hoard found at the site. With its more than 500 silver *denarii* and an Attic *tetradrachmae*, it hints at Stobi's participation in expanding interregional ties.[30]

Stobi was located on a terraced spur between the Axios (modern Vardar) and Erigon (modern Crna) Rivers near what was considered to be the northeastern edge of the Kingdom of Macedon and the mid-2nd century BC – late 3rd century AD Roman province of Macedonia (Figs. 2 – 4, 18).[31] Based on finds from cemeteries in the area of the later Civic Basilica (Fig. 17, #17), sustained settlement seems to have begun around the early 3rd century BC. The locations of these cemeteries indicate that by the first half of the next century, settlement extended to near the end of the spur between the Axios and Crna Rivers. This area was destroyed by a modern railroad

[29] Mikulčić 2007, 41, 43; I can attest that variously sized fragments of Arretine Ware and *terra sigillata* were found in the 2010-2012 excavations at the southwest corner of the theater's arched substructure.

[30] Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 185; Janakievski 1998, 39; Mano-Zisi 1973, 200; There are of course numerous possibilities for what activities this money could represent, such as someone's personal funds or tax revenues.

[31] Blaževska and Tutkovski 2012, 9; *Macedonian Cultural Heritage* 2008, 30; Mano-Zisi 1973, 186-7; Wiseman and Mano-Zisi 1976, 269-70.

track and road, so it is unclear what kind of habitation was there and when it began. Finds from southwest of the road only confirm that the area was used by the late 3rd – 2nd centuries BC.[32]

By this time, then, Stobi seems to have been a small urban center inhabited by local peoples. Stobi's inhabitants primarily used locally-produced gray-ware vessels, but these were modelled on imported black-gloss Greek pottery that was also found at the site. Other finds that suggest Stobi's place within wider networks of interactions are coins of Philip V found in graves under the House of Peristeria (Fig. 17, #9). It does not appear that there was a Macedonian garrison at Stobi like at Lychnidos and perhaps Heraclea, but two references to the site in Livy's *History* do support the idea that Philip V ostensibly claimed it during his Paeonian campaigns. Livy first notes that in the First Macedonian War the king defeated the Dardani near Stobi in Paeonia while they were attacking the upper boundaries of Macedonia, which suggests that the site marked the edge of his kingdom. Livy later writes that after the Second Macedonian War, Philip founded a site in Paeonia down the river from the "old city" of Stobi. While Stobi would have been "old" by the early 2nd century BC, even if it was not a city, this detail is more important for suggesting that Stobi was at the edge of Macedonia.[33] It was Stobi's role as a border town in the regional network of the Kingdom of Macedon that catalyzed its enrollment into a Roman imperial network beginning in the second half of the 2nd century BC.

From this time into the 1st century AD, increased traffic along the Via Egnatia (because it was a strategic link between the Roman Empire's western and eastern provinces) helped to boost

[32] Anderson-Stojanović 1981, 48; Mano-Zisi 1973, 187, 189, 198-200; Wiseman and Mano-Zisi 1976, 269; See "Excavations and Conservation" pages for 1980-2007 and 2011 at www.stobi.mk. Anderson-Stojanović suggests that the earliest pottery at the site, local gray ware and imported Greek pottery, could date earlier into the late 4th century BC. The site, however, is not mentioned in connection with Philip II's wars against the Paeonians.

[33] Livy 33.19.1 (*superiora Macedoniae evastare*), 3 (*circa Stobos Paeoniae*); 39.53.14-6 (*oppidum in Deuriopo condere instituit…haud procul Stobis, vetere urbe*); Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 14; 1981, 48; Janakievski 1998, 39; Mano-Zisi 1973, 188-90, 198, 200; Papazoglou 1957, 235-7; Wiseman and Mano-Zisi 1976, 269; For example, a pit, perhaps a grave, found below the Civil Basilica held a black-figure kylix dateable to the 3rd – 2nd century BC.

Stobi's interregional connections with regard to trade and manufacturing practices. Virginia Anderson-Stojanović notes this in her study of Stobi's pottery.[34] For example, in 2nd century BC graves below the House of Peristeria and the House of the Fuller (Fig. 17, #9, 5) were found imported fusiform unguentaria, a West Slope Ware pyxis (from Athens), a Campanian Black Slip bowl, and sherds of Thin-Walled Ware (from Italy). Also, scattered finds of handles of contemporary amphoras from Cnidos and Rhodes indicate that goods and commodities from these locations made their way to Stobi in the late 2nd – early 1st century BC.[35] Wares from Italy such as Pompeian Red-slip, Thin-Walled, and Italian Sigillata outnumbered those from the east as preferred imported vessels during the 1st century BC – early 1st century AD. Amphoras carrying wine and olive oil from Italy were also arriving in Stobi at the same time. In the latter century, however, Çandarli Ware and Eastern Sigillata B imports became more common.[36]

In response to the demand of Stobi's inhabitants for such imported tablewares, potters at the site also manufactured vessels that imitated their fabric compositions, forms, and decoration. Through petrographic analysis, Anderson-Stojanović identified three fabrics for the pottery produced at Stobi from the 2nd century BC to the 4th century AD. These fabrics seem to indicate the use of clay from the east side of the Crna River and of sand from the banks of the Crna and Vardar Rivers.[37] The manufacturing of these local fabrics seems to have taken place in the area

[34] For a comprehensive but slightly dated treatment of the ceramic evidence found in the course of the University of Texas at Austin's excavations at Stobi in the 70's and 80's, see Anderson-Stojanović 1992.

[35] Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 17, 35-6, 81-4 (cat. #560-82), 185; 1981, 49; While it is unclear from where most of the unguentaria found in these graves originated, they do all seem to have been imported. Two examples, one from Grave 288 (cat. #567) and another from Grave 298 (cat. #569), have parallels in unguentaria found in contemporary tombs at Argos while a third from Grave 281 (cat. #563) is likely from southern Italy.

[36] Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 39-41 (Thin-Walled Ware), 45-50 (Italian Sigillata), 50-4 (Çandarli Ware and Eastern Sigillata B), 97-8 (Pompeian Red Ware), 185, 189; 1981, 49; The amphoras were of the Graeco-Italo, Dressel 1, and Adriatic types. The Italian Sigillata was mostly undecorated, but a few examples of rim appliqués were found.

[37] Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 8-10; 1981, 50-1; Other possible clay sources include beds south of Stobi at the modern towns Negotino and Demir Kapija. Fabric 3 was coarse and used in cookware, storage vessels, and tiles.

of the Synagogue Basilica around the 1st century BC (Fig. 17, #15). Here were found remains that have been interpreted as kilns based on known 1st century BC – 1st century AD kilns discovered in Italy. Some of the ceramic vessel sherds from these structures' fill came from imported wares like Campanian wares (A-C), Eastern Sigillata A, and Thin-Walled Ware. Other sherds were from local vessels that imitated these wares and from two locally-produced molds for relief bowls, locally-produced relief bowls decorated with Dionysiac and foliage motifs, and disk-shaped vessel supports, for example. Similar ceramic evidence was found nearby to the west, and a contemporary building directly to the south held Megaran ware bowls and molds (2nd – 1st century BC). Another small circular kiln (1st century AD) with a stone exterior and four brick arches on its interior was found among structural remains near the House of Peristeria.[38]

Finds from elsewhere around Stobi attest that local potters imitated Italian Sigillata when this tableware became a popular import at the site. Some local potters even accepted the *planta pedis* as a convention for "signing" the vessels they produced. Four locally-produced vessels that bear the stamp of the workshop of Sextius Annius Afer at Arezzo could either mean that members of this workshop visited or moved to Stobi or, more likely, that local potters copied the workshop's stamp. Local potters also learned to imitate Çandarli Ware and Eastern Sigillata B when these two wares surpassed Arretine ware in popularity around the mid-1st century AD.[39]

Fabrics 1 (reddish-yellow, pink, or light red or pale brown) and 2 (gray or brownish gray) were fine-grained and used for tableware and serving vessels; Fabric 1 was also used for molded bowls, unguentaria, and loomweights.

[38] Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 8, 146-7 (see these pages and Table 4.3 for a full account of the finds from the potter's workshop below the Synagogue), 195-6; 1981, 49-51; Mano-Zisi 1973, 198-9; The remains at Stobi consist of two brick walls, one with a rounded end, that ran perpendicular to another brick wall a short distance to the south. These walls were built on river gravel, and the interior sides of the parallel walls were plaster-coated. These remains are similar to those of known 1st century BC – 1st century AD Italian kilns, which have two firing chambers divided by a wall with a curved end. Anderson-Stojanović notes that the remains of the small circular kiln, which are pictured in Pl. 189, best resemble a type of kiln that N. Cuomo di Caprio calls Class IIa. The "Excavations and Conservation" page for 2011 at www.stobi.mk also mentions the 1st century AD kiln in the area of the House of Peristeria.

[39] Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 10-1, 188-9; 1981, 50-1.

In summary, then, these locally-produced tablewares suggest even more than the imports they emulated how craft production and commerce were changing at Stobi because of the various new human and material actors that traffic along Roman-controlled roadways like the Via Egnatia helped to bring to the site from the late 2nd century BC – early 1st century AD. The vessels produced at Stobi represent the mixing of local and foreign ceramic traditions in terms such as clay body preparation, vessel forms, firing methods, and kiln forms. As Van Oyen writes in relation to Italian *terra sigillata* produced in Gaul, it was not only conversations and work among local and/or foreign potters that made this intermingling of pottery traditions possible but also people's use of imported vessels themselves.[40]

All the aforementioned activity linked to the importation of foreign tablewares and to the local production of their imitations from the second half of the 2nd century BC into the 1st century AD would have helped to increase Stobi's population in the form of traders and craftsmen from Macedonia and nearby regions like Asia Minor. The site's growing population in these centuries is attested by structures built south of the land spur between the Axios and Crna Rivers. One example is the ceramic workshop in the area of the Synagogue Basilica where part of Stobi's necropolis had been. Houses were also built in the areas of the Large and Civic Basilicas (Fig. 17, #2, 17) and near the Crna River. It thus seems that, due in part to the steady traffic past Stobi that was occasioned by Roman control of the Via Egnatia and Macedonia's other shorter roadways, by the end of the 1st century BC Stobi was not confined to the northern and northeastern areas along its two rivers, as Djordje Mano-Zisi asserted in the 1970s. Instead, the site likely continued along the ridge to the south and southwest along the Crna River.[41]

[40] Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 184-8; Van Oyen 2016.

[41] Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 188; Mano-Zisi 1973, 196-9, 201-2; See the "Excavations and Conservation" page for 2012 at www.stobi.mk. Mano-Zisi suggests that the site first approached this size in the 2nd century AD.

The Via Egnatia and the road that connected it to Stobi would have helped not only to increase the town's population but also to increasingly stratify it. One way by which these roads most likely did this was by bringing elites from neighboring or farther provinces to the site. Increased traffic along these roads after Macedonia became a Roman province also likely afforded local affluent landowners more opportunities to expand their wealth and influence. Either scenario could explain Building D below the Civic Basilica and the Casa Romana (Fig. 17, #20) by the Crna River. Both structures stand out among the remains of 1st century BC – 1st century AD Stobi as homes for local elites. In their forms and assemblages, these houses also show that Stobi's elites increasingly looked to the same, relatively standardized set of material forms that were used by elites across the eastern Mediterranean to express their wealth and status. Building D and the Casa Romana thus reflect Stobi's growth in terms of the cultural, political, and economic interactions it hosted and the interregional ties these interactions entailed.

These houses in turn would have encouraged the proliferation at Stobi of cultural, political, and economic interactions by promoting competition and a sense of community among Stobi's elites. In Building D, for example, were found sherds of Italian and other amphoras; black-gloss vessels with formal similarities to Campanian wares, Campanian Ware C, Eastern Sigillata A; and locally-produced bowls. These finds mean that Building D helped to promote formal dining of the kind practiced by elites across the Roman Empire's other provinces as a successful method by which Stobi's elites could compete and bond with each other. At the same time, these particular tablewares and the various foodstuffs the amphoras once held also mean that elite dining in Building D promoted further commerce among Stobi's elites and merchants.[42]

[42] Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 146 (see Table 4.2); Mano-Zisi 1973, 196-7; Earlier interactions among Stobi's elites and merchants would have included the former commissioning the construction and decoration of their homes.

That Building D was both a product and driver of the expansion of cultural, political, and economic interactions at Stobi is also attested in its decoration. Excavations in both Building D and the Casa Romana found fragments of frescoes with floral, geometric, and wildlife motifs that bear similarities to wall painting found in contemporary Italy. These finds thus suggest that through interactions with each other and local craftsmen, Stobi's elites were inspired by interior decorating motifs that were popular with elites in Italy and other Roman provinces in the 1st century AD. These fresco finds also hint that the wall paintings in one elite family's house could have inspired another elite family to commission more elaborate paintings for their home as a form of elite competition. Together with the ceramic evidence from Building D and the Casa Romana, then, these fresco remains suggest the ways by which the Via Egnatia helped to expand interactions at Stobi by promoting the growth of an elite sub-community. As leading citizens in their community, these elites especially would have contributed to the growth of Roman Stobi in the late 1st century AD by helping to fund new public buildings such as the theater.[43]

The Via Egnatia – Aigai and Pella

From Heraclea and nearby Stobi, the Via Egnatia turned south before curving east to pass through Thessalonica (Fig. 3). On its way to Thessalonica, the road passed through Pella and close to Aigai, which were the largest urban centers in Macedonia before it became a Roman province.[44] Although both sites had dissipated as urban hubs by the urbanization horizon of the late 1st – early 2nd century AD, they require some discussion here for three reasons. First, these sites had been heavily patronized by Macedonian kings who wanted to enhance their wealth and influence by adopting and using foreign customs and goods. Thus, their late 4th – 3rd century BC

[43] Anderson Stojanović 1992, 190; Mano-Zisi 1973, 196-7, 201-2.

[44] Chrysostomou 2003, 148; Collart 1937, 491; Janakievski 1987, 11; 1998, 41; Mikulčić 2007, 21; Vanderspoel 2010, 266.

urban landscapes would have attested to the substantial and rapid local urban growth that could come with greater regional and interregional connectivity. This interregional connectivity and the changes it brought to Pella and Aigai's urban landscapes looked forward to how Macedonia's urban centers were shaped by the region's integration into a Roman imperial network. Second, also as in the case of pre-1st century AD Roman Macedonia, the urbanization that royal patronage guided at Pella and Aigai featured the building of venues for dramatic performances. Macedonian kings and elites' use of these theaters anticipates how public entertainment venues were used later by Roman emperors and officials to shape cities according to a social hierarchy. Third, both sites exemplify that not all Macedonian urban centers, even the more complex ones, benefited from the new interactions that participation in a Roman imperial network facilitated.

Aigai and Pella were founded as Macedonian royal capitals around the late 6th and late 5th centuries, respectively.[45] Their urban landscapes were significantly expanded with the building campaigns that Philip II most likely initiated and his successors continued in the second half of the 4th century BC. These building campaigns included courtyard palaces, theaters, agoras, and elite houses at both sites and royal tombs at Aigai,[46] Built to facilitate the expansion of the various interactions that had previously driven growth at both sites, these new structures furthered the sites' capacities to be capitals for the rapidly expanding Macedonian kingdom.

Many of the new buildings' structural and decorative aspects were inspired by contemporary trends in Greek art and architecture. They therefore indicate that, like predecessors such as Archelaus I (r. 414 – 399 BC), Philip actively promoted increased interregional ties

[45] Adam-Veleni 2010, 29, 128; Drougou 1999, 12, 14; Lilimpaki-Akamati 1993, 41; Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2003, 13, 134; Siganidou 1993, 30.

[46] See Drougou 1999 for an introduction (in English) to Aigai and Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2003 for one (in Greek with an English summary) to Pella.; Although Aigai's agora (Drougou p.11, Fig. 3, #4 "public buildings") has not been excavated fully, traces of its buildings have been identified near the center of the site.

between Macedonia and cities founded as Greek colonies in the northern and southern Aegean. Later Macedonian kings followed this precedent. Philip intended his patronage of Greek communities near and far to strengthen the interactions that held his kingdom together. As the architectural projects the king and his successors commissioned at Pella and Aigai suggest, Philip's philhellenism benefited Macedonia in a variety of ways. Most notably, it provided models for public spaces that could attract high volumes of human interactions, incentivized the sharing of expertise between migrant Greek and local Macedonian craftsmen and intellectuals, and bolstered a shared culture and sense of purpose among aristocratic Macedonians.[47]

These goals are represented well in Pella and Aigai's palaces and theaters, which were likely first monumentalized in Philip's reign. They constituted complexes in which the palace was set on a hill and the theater on the slope below it. The palaces displayed Macedonia's ties with Greek cities through their basic form of a peristyle courtyard with surrounding rooms, the Doric and Ionic columns in the peristyle's two stories, rooms for *symposia*, and these rooms' mosaic floors with Greek floral and geometric motifs.[48] All these features suggest that the architects and craftsmen who worked on the palaces included Greeks who traveled to or settled in Macedonia. They also suggest that most of the exchanges the palace afforded would have been among the king, his family, his elite companions, and special visitors like foreign intellectuals (e.g. Aristotle) and ambassadors. Thus, its Greek-inspired features would have fostered the idea

[47] Adam-Veleni 2010, 33, 129; Di Napoli 2019, 322; Graninger 2015, 29; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2003a, 13, 134; Archelaus famously invited Greek artists like the playwright Euripedes, the painter Zeuxis, and the poet Agathon to his new capital at Pella.

[48] Plutarch *Mor.* 13; Adam-Veleni 2016a, 19; 2010, 35-7, 77, 130, 153; Chrysostomou 2003, 31-2, 135-6; Di Napoli 2018, 322; Drougou 1999, 16, 18-22, 24, 26; Hatzopoulos 2001, 191; Miller 2016, 289-93; Fragmentary archaeological remains suggest that earlier structures existed in the same locations. Plutarch notes that Alexander wanted the scene building of Pella's theater to be coated in bronze, which, while a fantastic story, suggests that it was built in the time of Philip. Pella's theater has not yet been excavated, but its location on the slope below the palace has been identified.

that Macedonian aristocratic identity entailed cultivating interregional ties in the northern and southern Aegean through tactics like military expansion and patronage.

The same conclusions can be made about the theaters at Aigai and Pella. Unlike theaters in Roman Macedonia, the performances these buildings hosted likely catered to the Macedonian king and aristocracy. Adam-Veleni writes that this is likely given the theater's proximity to the palace, the arrival of dramatic performances in Macedonia through Archelaus' patronage of Greek playwrights, and the one recorded use of Aigai's theater in 336 BC for the marriage of Philip II's daughter to the king of Epirus.[49] By promoting a sense of community among the Macedonian royal family and aristocracy and attaching Greek material forms and ideas to that sense of community, Aigai and Pella's palaces and theaters inspired the emergence of similarly cross-cultural new material actors in their urban landscapes. Examples include the House of Dionysos and House of the Abduction of Helen at Pella, their pebble mosaic floors with decorations inspired by Greek myth, Pella's agora, and the various imported goods sold there.[50]

Once the Roman Republic established administrative control over Macedonia, the Roman Senate does not seem to have intended to suppress interactions at the site because it was formerly the capital of the Kingdom of Macedon. This is suggested by Pella's position on the Via Egnatia and its selection in 168 BC as a district capital. Nor does there seem to have been such an intent in Aigai's case. Environmental factors seem to have caused both Pella and Aigai's gradual dissolution as urban centers. Activity at Pella seems to have waned in the second half of the 2nd century BC because the lake to the south had receded too far to incentivize traders and settlers.

[49] Diod. Sic. *Bib. Hist.* 16.91.9-93; Adam-Veleni 2016a, 19; 2010, 34, 79, 129-30, 153-5; Di Napoli 2018, 322; Drougou 2016, 46, 48, 51, 53-5; 1999, 14-5; Miller 2016, 289; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1993, 36; Diodorus writes how those invited to the event, at which Philip was assassinated, consisted of representatives from Greek cities and Macedonian aristocrats and how it began with a royal procession of Philip, his family, and his closest companions.

[50] Akamatis 2003, 41-8, 137-9; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2003a, 16-7, 135; 1993, 42.

Yannis Lolos does plausibly suggest, however, that the site's complexity also decreased continuing into the 1st century BC because nearby Thessalonica presented more opportunities for interaction. It seems to have been an earthquake in the early 1st century BC that finally forced the rest of Pella's inhabitants to move, seemingly to a western suburb. Aigai shrank as an urban center as well and was abandoned in the early 1st century AD, most likely because it, like Pella, no longer had a usable harbor. Beroia emerged as a city c. 12 km to Aigai's west (further from the Via Egnatia), seemingly because it was more favorably located on a river and in mountain foothills (Fig. 3). Despite offering opportunities for new interactions, then, a location on or close to the Via Egnatia did not guarantee greater urbanization at particular sites.[51]

The Via Egnatia – Thessalonica

At Thessalonica, the Via Egnatia is thought to have first run by the southern edge of the town. The road later became the town's primary horizontal axis (Figs. 14 – 15).[52] As available archaeological evidence shows, Thessalonica's new role as a provincial capital did not mean that interactions there expanded faster or were dramatically different in comparison to other towns along the road. The first large-scale building campaign that came out of Thessalonica's urban grown, which included a public entertainment venue, coincided with those at this study's other main sites. Interactions at Thessalonica, however, had likely reached a higher volume by the mid-1st century AD. Strabo's note that Thessalonica was the largest city on the western Aegean

[51] Akamatis 2003, 48; Chrysostomou 2003, 93, 147-8; Drougou 1999, 9, 21; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2003a, 13, 134; 2003b, 139; 1993, 41, 43; Lolos 2009, 276.

[52] Vickers 1970, 240, fn. 13; Vitti 1996, 68-9, 82; The ongoing construction of Thessaloniki's metro has helped to clarify that the Via Egnatia runs slightly north of its modern iteration. Before the metro excavations, the Arch of Galerius was the best clue for the course and width of the ancient road. These excavations' results were first publicly presented at Thessaloniki's Agora Museum on February 23, 2018 and will appear in future publications.

coast by the late 2nd century BC hints that such a higher volume of interactions had begun to accumulate earlier and that the site's coastal location was a key factor in this process.[53]

In the first half of the 2nd century BC, however, Thessalonica seems to have been small. Cassander (r. 316 – 297 BC) founded Thessalonica along the northern shore of the Thermaic Gulf where several other communities had been established in previous centuries.[54] Strabo writes that Cassander particularly chose the site of Therme, a colony founded by Corinth, Eretria, or Chalcis in the late 6th century BC. A late 6th – 5th century BC Ionic temple of Dionysos found near modern Diikiteriou Square supports this possibility.[55] On the one hand, then, the conditions for Thessalonica's urbanization were in part created by gradually expanding interactions, such as trade, among local settlements and a Greek port. On the other hand, as with Philippi, also vital to the site's urbanization was a Macedonian king's coopting of this preexisting activity to create a more cohesive regional network involved in more numerous interregional ties.

Early Thessalonica is mentioned in a few ancient sources as an administrative and defensive outpost for Macedonian kings. For example, although Plutarch does not mention Thessalonica by name, he writes that Antigonas Gonatas (r. 277 – 239 BC) retreated to seaside cities after Pyrrhus defeated him.[56] Thessalonica can plausibly be included among these "cities," which means that it would have had a wall for the king's protection and a harbor for his escape.

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[53] Strabo *Geogr.* 7.7.4; Adam-Veleni 2016b, 151; Vitti 1996, 55-6; Zarmakoupi 2018, 266.

[54] Strabo *Geogr.* 7.21; Adam-Veleni 2016b, 145; 2016a, 9; 2010, 29, 128; Antonaras 2016, 15; Drougou 1999, 73; Siganidou 1993, 29; Tsibidou-Avloniti 1993, 45; Vitti 1996, 44, 46-8, 141; One such hilltop settlement inhabited from c. 2,200 BC into the 4th century BC was Ano Toumba (c. 2 km east of downtown Thessaloniki). Vitti refers to the work of E.I. Mikrogiannakis (1977 in *Ἀρχαία Μακεδονία* II, pp.225-36), who argues that 305 BC is more likely than the traditional date (316-315) since this is when Cassander founded Cassandreia and Thebes.

[55] Strabo *Geogr.* 7, frr. 21, 24; Steph. Byz. 2.92-4; 7.323-30; Antonaras 2016, 16; Tsibidou-Avloniti 1993, 45; Vickers 1970, 245; Vitti 1996, 44-6, 48, 50; Zarmakoupi 2018, 267; See also Herodotus (7.121, 123-4, 127-8, 183), Aischines (2.27), Thucydides (1.61; 2.29) and Pliny (4.10, 36).

[56] Plut. *Pyrr.* 26.3-5 (Pyrrhus *τῶν παραλίων τινὰς πόλεων κατέσχεν*); Adam-Veleni 2016b, 148; Drougou 1999, 73; Vitti 1996, 48.

Livy notes the existence of both in King Perseus' reign when he identifies Thessalonica as the base for the Macedonian navy and notes that its walls repulsed C. Marius.[57] Diodorus hints at public buildings when he writes that Philip Andriscus claimed there was a treasure in the colonnade across from a hall.[58] All these passages suggest that Thessalonica's residents included representatives of the Macedonian kings and their retinues and a garrison of sailors and soldiers.

Archaeological evidence for Thessalonica in the 3rd – 2nd century BC is more informative but not in accordance with these literary sources. There are no sure traces of the early walls and harbor noted in Plutarch and Livy; current scholarly consensus posits that both were built when Thessalonica was founded. The walls are thought to have at least surrounded the acropolis and its southern slope down to modern Kassandrou and Dimitriou Streets (Figs. 13 – 14). The walls may not have extended farther until later since Cicero writes that when he was in Thessalonica (57-56 BC), the site's inhabitants took refuge on the acropolis during an attack of the Denseleti.[59] Consensus among archaeologists places the harbor a short distance southeast of the site.[60]

Seemingly answering Diodorus' hint at public buildings, excavations around Diikiteriou Square uncovered what seems to have been a large administrative complex (Fig. 15). As further evidence for public buildings, an inscription indicates that the Serapeion west of Diikiteriou

[57] Livy *Hist.* 44.10.1-2, 6-7; Adam-Veleni 2016b, 150; Antonaras 2016, 16; Miller 2016, 288; Vitti 1996, 55, 140; Perseus at first ordered that the docks and fleet be burned but changed his mind (*Thessalonicae navalia iusserat incendi. Andronicus Thessalonicam missus traxerat tempus, id ipsum quod accidit, paenitentiae relinquens locum*). Livy on Marius: *iamque ipsi urbi terribilis erat, cum dispositis omnis generis tormetis non vagi modo circa muros temere adpropinquantes, sed etiam qui in navibus errant, saxis tormento emicantibus percutiebantur. revocatis igitur in naves militibus omissaque Thessaloncae oppugnatione*.

[58] Diod. Sic. *Bib. Hist.* 42.15.2 (*τὴν ἐν τῷ περιστύλῳ κατὰ τὴν αὐλήν*); Vickers 1970, 247; Vitti 1996, 55.

[59] Cic. *De prov. consul.* 4 (*ut Thessalonicenses…relinquere oppidum et arcem munire cogantur*); *In Pisonem* 34 (*Thessalonicensis, cum oppido desperassent, munire arcem coegerunt*); *Pro Cnaeo Plancio* 41 (Cicero writes about his harrowing experience in Thessalonica); Adam-Veleni 2016b, 146-7, 152; Collart 1937, 244; Vitti 1996, 56, 121, 123-4; Thessalonica's first walls thus would have roughly followed the course of the extant Late Antique circuit.

[60] Akrivopoulou 2013; Vitti 1996, 133 ff.

Square was built in the 2nd century BC.[61] The presence of Serapis's cult attests that travel and migration linked Thessalonica to communities in the Hellenistic kingdoms and in the western Mediterranean. A bath with concentric plunge basins was also built in the mid-2nd century BC at the southeast corner of the later Roman agora, which hints at the spaces for socializing in early Thessalonica.[62] Besides the Serapion and baths, scattered walls south and north of the agora and what appear to be house remains around its east side provide the only other glimpses into the structures at Thessalonica in the first half of the 2nd century BC.[63] Unlike Philippi and Dion, Thessalonica does not seem to have had a public entertainment venue until the 1st century AD.

Excavations of Thessalonica's Roman agora have not revealed definitive traces of a Hellenistic predecessor, but archaeologists hypothesize that it was situated nearby. These excavations have found that the area of the agora was used for clay mining and processing from the early 3rd – early 1st century BC.[64] The most common evidence for this activity are pits from which clay was dug and in which broken vessels were later thrown. The oldest vessels, which include black-slip kantharoi and skyphoi and lamps dated to the late 4th – early 3rd century BC, were found together under the southernmost flanking room of the 2nd century AD *odeum*. A similar group dateable to the mid-3rd century BC was deposited in a pit in the southeast corner of

[61] *IG* X 2,1 3; Adam-Veleni 2016b, 148, 151; Antonaras 2016, 16-7; Miller 2016, 288; Tsibidou-Avloniti 1993, 46; Vickers 1970, 246; Vitti 1996, 50, 88; The inscription, which mentions an Andronicus as a representative of King Philip (V), has been dated to 187 BC.

[62] Adam-Veleni 2016b, 154; 2001, 29-30, 325; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 2016b, 178; Yeorgaki and Zografou 2001, 68-9, 73, 327; Zarmakoupi 2018, 267; Rooms that may have served the baths were found directly to the west.

[63] Adam-Veleni 2001, 25, 29-30, 323-4; Kalavria and Boli 2001, 41-2, 326; Vitti 1996, 51-2, 67, 79; A grid was likely laid out when the site was founded according to contemporary trends, but excavations only uncovered early Roman and Late Antique streets.

[64] Adam-Veleni 2001, 18-9, 323; 1997, 10; Antonaras 2016, 20-1; Boli and Skiadaressis 2001; Kalavria and Boli 2001; Valavanidou 2001; Yeorgaki and Zografou 2001; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 2016b, 177; Vitti 1996, 93; Vitti suggests that the Hellenistic agora was southwest of the Roman one. As Adam-Veleni explains, the first phase of the agora's excavations was 1962 – 1973 while the second was 1989 – 1999. The other sources here are from the same volume and discuss the evidence for the agora's use for ceramic production in the 3rd – 2nd centuries BC.

the agora.[65] Other pits with similar vessels (e.g. black-slip skyphoi, cooking pots, a kylix, plates, amphoras, and lamps) and figurine molds dating to the 2nd century BC were found at the agora's center, southeast corner, and south side.[66] Under the square, archaeologists also identified postholes for covered work areas and a 14-meter-long wall built down the square's middle in the late 2nd – early 1st century BC. Despite finds of kiln wasters and molds, kiln remains were absent. This point suggests that the area was used only for clay mining and preparation.[67]

The existence of facilities for the manufacture of various, everyday ceramic items for Thessalonica's population suggests a more realistic picture of the site's early urban network. Early Thessalonica was not only an occasional refuge for a Macedonian king or a naval garrison but also a home to lower-class craftsmen such as the potters who worked in and likely lived near the later agora. Furthermore, the wide range of locally-produced and imported ceramic goods in the agora deposits (i.e. tableware, cooking ware, lamps, and transport vessels) speaks to a healthy, diversified local economy. Particular finds from under the center of the Roman agora like amphora handles with stamps from Rhodes, an Eastern Sigillata Type A plate, and Attic Western Slope Ware also suggest that Thessalonica was an interregional trade hub.[68] With literary evidence, then, archaeological finds suggest that Thessalonica had become a modestly-sized, defensible harbor town in central Macedonia by the Battle of Pydna, which made it a prime candidate for becoming the leading city of the Roman province of Macedonia.

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[65] Adam-Veleni 2001, 25, 29-30, 324; Kalavria and Boli 2001, 39-40, 326.

[66] Adam-Veleni 2001, 29-30, 324-5; 1997, 22-3; Boli and Skiadaressis 2001, 88-90, 328; Yeorgaki and Zografou 2001, 66, 68-9, 327; Yeorgaki and Zografou note that sometime in the early 2nd century BC the pits at the agora's southeast corner were covered by a destruction layer, upon which the baths were built.

[67] Adam-Veleni 2001, 29, 324; Valavanidou 2001, 119-20, 329-30; Yeorgaki and Zografou 2001, 65, 327; Valavanidou also points out that any kilns could have been destroyed for the later construction of the agora.

[68] Yeorgaki and Zografou 2001, 66, 68-9, Figs. 5-8, 13.

As in the case of the 3rd – early 2nd century BC, evidence for Thessalonica's urban growth in the next two centuries is sparse. Adjusting to new Italian imports, local production of ceramic vessels, lamps, and figurines continued in the area of the Roman agora until the latter was built in the 1st century AD. This seems to have occurred in Vespasian's principate when the baths near the agora's southeast corner was destroyed, perhaps by an earthquake. Economic opportunities were thus one draw for people who came along the Via Egnatia or through the harbor to settle at Thessalonica. The construction of houses on the agora's east side in the 2nd century BC and their use into the 1st century AD attest to Thessalonica's growing population.[69]

Inscriptions provide most of the remaining material evidence for how Thessalonica's local network expanded through its gradual enrollment into the Roman province of Macedonia. For example, one inscription dated to 95 BC records honors granted to the gymnasiarch Paramonos. He is honored by "the youths" (*οἱ νέοι*) Athenagoras, Pyrros, Diogenes, Neikostratos, Strato, and Neikeratos, who were seemingly his pupils. Their names and patronyms fit with Macedonian conventions but could also mean they came from nearby regions like Greece and Asia. Paramonos' monument thus indicates how Thessalonica's strategic location in the province of Macedonia and role as its capital attracted the settlement of Macedonian and perhaps transplanted elites by affording them opportunities for intellectual and political advancement.[70]

Paramonos is praised for displaying values that Roman elites were expected to share and to instill in their younger peers, namely eager dedication to his community (*πολλὴν π[ροση]-/ νέγκατο προθυμίαν ... ἐκτενῆ π[αρα]-/ σκεθάζων ἑαυτὸν*) and honoring the gods and

[69] Adam-Veleni 2016b, 154; 2001, 25, 29-30, 323, 325; Boli and Skiadaressis 2001, 88-90, 328; Lolos 2009, 271; Valavanidou 2001, 119-20, 329-30; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 2016b, 178; Vitti 1996, 58; Yeorgaki and Zografou 2001, 65, 327.

[70] *BCH* 97 (1973), 586.4; *IG* X 2,1 4; Antonaras 2016, 16; Brélaz 2018, 170; Vickers 1970, 246; Vitti 1996, 54.

Thessalonica's Roman benefactors (*τὰς ἠθισμένας τειμὰς ... τοῖς τε θεοῖς καὶ Ῥωμαίοις εὐεργέταις ἐπαὐξων*). He was granted an ovation in the gymnasium, a palm-branch crown, and an inscribed bronze statue and stone stele (likely the inscription itself) that were raised in the gymnasium.[71] Thus, Paramonos and the gymnasium (as an institution and building) promoted ideas that reinforced Thessalonica's participation in the Roman Empire, like civic duty and pride, respect for the gods, and cooperation with the Romans. Paramonos' monument in turn was then able to encourage these ideas' further manifestation in other monuments.

An inscription dated to 60 BC similarly indicates how Thessalonica expanded as a provincial capital and prominent location along the Via Egnatia in the decades after Macedonia became a Roman province. As the inscription has been restored, it is dedicated to a Parnassos for his benevolence and goodwill toward the people (*[ἐπὶ τῆι φιλα]γαθίαι καὶ τῆι πρὸς τὸν/ [δῆμον εὐνοίαι]*). For these qualities, like Paramonos he was rewarded a bronze statue and stone stele that were to be set up in the agora as material expressions of the ideas that civic pride and elite euergetism were beneficial to Thessalonica's prosperity. He was also allowed to wear a crown in public and to sit in the front row at the festival of Dionysos; both honors would have made him a living monument to the same two ideas. This inscription even states that the town council and assembly intended these material expressions of thanks to promote in Thessalonica the spread of the ideas that produced them, civic pride and respect for local and regional authorities.[72]

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[71] *BCH* 97 (1973), 586.4; *IG* X 2,1 4; Vickers 1970, 246; Vitti 1996, 54; Paramonos' honors: *ἔδοξεν τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου ἐπαινέσαι τ[ε]/ τὸν Παράμονον ἐπὶ τῆι προαιρέσει καὶ στεφανῶσ[αι]/ θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι καὶ εἰκόνι χαλκῆ καὶ γραπτῆι τ[ε]-/ λείαι, τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα ἀναγραφὲν εἰστήλην λιθίνη[ν]/ τεθῆναι προφανὲς ἐν τῶι γυ<μ>νασίωι.*

[72] *IG* X 2,1 5; *SEG* 50:637; Vickers 1970, 246-7; Half of the inscription is missing. Parnassos' honors: *[στε]φανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ/ [στεφάνωι καὶ εἰκόνι χαλ]κῆι · στῆσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ/ [τὴν εἰκόνα ἐν τῶι ἐπιφα]νεστάτωι τόπωι τῆς/ [ἀγορᾶς...καὶ Διο]νυσιείοις καλεῖσθαι/ [αὐτὸν εἰς προεδρίαν]*. The town council and assembly dedicated the monument so that "the rest of the Thessalonians may become more devoted to their homeland and province having beheld the goodwill of the city" (*οἵ τε λοιποὶ τῶν/ [Θεσσασλονικέων? προθυμότ]εροι γίνωνται πρὸς τὴν/ [πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐπαρχεί]αν ὁρῶντες τὴν εὐχα-/ [ριστίαν τῆν πόλεως).*

Another inscription dating to the late 1st century BC – early 1st century AD provides examples of elites from the western provinces who were settling in Thessalonica at this time. Through their patronage they promoted new cults that furthered the city's growth and participation in the Roman Empire. This inscription notes how Romans in the town, which the inscription may have called businessmen (*συμπραγματευόμενοι*), made a dedication in honor of one or more priests of the imperial cult and of the cult of Zeus Eleutherios and Roma. These Romans thus contributed tangibly to the expansion of Thessalonica's urban landscape by introducing a now unknown material feature. This new feature thereby marked and further promoted the city's religious ties to communities across the Empire. In addition, the inscription conveys an understanding, between the town's council and assembly and these transplanted Roman elites, of how Thessalonica fit politically into a Roman imperial network. Further conveyed through one or separate temples dedicated to the imperial cult and Zeus Eleutherios and Roma (with altars, cult images, and observances), this understanding was that Thessalonica was free to conduct its own affairs but guided by Roman imperial policy. The inscription and cult facilities and practices that promulgated this idea thus manifested Thessalonica's status as a *civitas libera*, which was granted by Octavian and Marc Antony around 41 BC.[73]

No temples have yet been found for the imperial cult and that of Zeus Eleutherios and Roma, but they were likely near Diikiteriou Square since a statue of Augustus from the time of Tiberius, a headless statue attributed to Claudius, and a head identified as Roma were found here. In this location they would have been near the Serapeion, which was rebuilt in the late 1st century

[73] *BCH* 97 (1973), 586,32; *IG* X 2,1 32; *SEG* 26:733; Adam-Veleni 2016b, 152; Lolos 2009, 272; Vickers 1970, 247; Vitti 1996, 57-9, 90, 148-9; Zarmakoupi 2018, 265; The temple of the imperial cult is called *[τὸν]/ Καίσαρος να[όν]* while the cult itself is referred to as that *του Αὐτ[οκράτορος Καίσαρος θε]-/ οῦ υἱοῦ [θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ] Γαΐου/ Ἰουλίου*, meaning Augustus. Roma and Thessalonica's Roman benefactors are referred to as *Ῥώμης δὲ κ[αὶ Ῥωμαίων]/ εὐεργετῶν*. Vitti notes the debate between Ch. Edson and R. Mellor about when the cult of Zeus Eleuterios and Roma began in Macedonia; the former says after 148 BC, but the latter posits after Pydna.

BC. With the inscriptions that commemorated it, the construction of these new temple(s) with overt Roman patronage and in a condensed time and place would have advertised well the idea that integration into the Roman Empire afforded Thessalonica a greater degree of urban vitality. The rebuilding of the older temple would have exemplified the idea that this enrollment process supported Thessalonica's prosperity in the form of renewal as well.[74]

In summary, authors like Michael Vickers and Massimo Vitti are certainly right that archaeological evidence offers insight into only a fraction of the interactions among human and material actors that formed Thessalonica's urban landscape from the mid-2nd century BC – 1st century AD. These collections of ceramics, houses, inscriptions, and statues, however, still represents the ways in which Thessalonica expanded as a local urban network in Macedonia's first two centuries as a Roman province. Thus, the Thessalonica through which the Via Egnatia ran in the late 1st century AD would have been a model for Macedonia's other urban centers of the various opportunities that participation in a Roman imperial network could facilitate.

The Via Egnatia – Philippi

Philippi is the last of this study's Macedonian sites that was located on the Via Egnatia. From Philippi, the Via Egnatia turned south to the port at Neapolis, which provided travelers by sea to Philippi. The Via Egnatia continued along the northern Aegean coast through Perinthus and on to Byzantium. The road constituted Philippi's central axis, as in the case of Thessalonica but already by the mid-2nd century BC (Figs. 1, 6).[75] Founded as Krenides by Thasians in 360/59 BC, the colony was located at a strategic point between the Orbellus mountains and marshland

[74] Vickers 1970, 249; Vitti 1996, 58-9, 90; This statuary was found under modern General Doubioti Street.

[75] Collart 1937, 319, 487, 491-2; 1928, 77; Lolos 2009, 273; Vanderspoel 2010, 266; As noted in *Acts* 16:11-12, the apostle Paul was one traveler who arrived in Philippi via the port at Neapolis.

on the route to the coast.[76] As Yves Grandjean and Francois Salviat posit, the Thasians most likely founded the colony to be an ally for their commercial interests in inland Macedonia and Thrace.[77] Moreover, Krenides' location provided Thasos better access to agricultural land, shipbuilding timber, and gold and silver mines.[78] Appian alleges that Krenides' inhabitants asked Philip II for help against antagonistic Thracian neighbors in 356 BC. Considering the site's location and resources, the king supposedly used this chance to seize it, install a Macedonian garrison there, and rename it Philippi.[79] Along with nearby colonies like Thasos and Maroneia, over which Philip also had control, Philippi became a control post for Macedonia's southeastern border and marked a new front for Macedonian-Thracian interactions.[80]

Evidence for the human and non-human actors who made up Philippi's local urban network in the late 4th to early 2nd century BC and the interactions that existed among them is sparse. Philippi's population at least would have included its original Greek colonists as well as the Macedonian soldiers whom Philip II settled there. Because of these groups' interests in the gold and silver mines nearby, it is reasonable to conclude that some of the colony's inhabitants

[76] Strabo *Geogr.* 7, frr. 41-2; Collart 1937, 39, 133-4, 137; Gounaris and Gounari 2004, 14-5; Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 24, 30; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2000, 7; Kallistrates the exiled Athenian orator was accredited as the leader of Krenides' colonists (see Diod. Sic. *Bib. Hist.* 16.3.7; 8.6 and Strabo *Geogr.* 7.33, ff. 34, 41, 43).

[77] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 30; In preceding pages, Grandjean and Salviat provide a summary of Thasos' growth as a result of its far-reaching trade relations. Excavations at Emporion Pistiros in central Thrace have provided plentiful evidence for Thasian traders and trade goods, such as wine amphoras and coins.

[78] Collart 1937, 135-6, pl. XXIII, 1-3; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993, 64; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2000, 6-7, Fig. 2; The connection between the two communities was commemorated in the first coins minted at Philippi, which read "land of the Thasians" (ΘΑΣΙΟΝ ΗΠΕΙΡΟ).

[79] App. *Bell. Civ*. IV.105-6; Collart 1937, 39, 51, 139, 154-6, 165; 1928, 78; Delev 2015, 49; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993, 64; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2000, 7-8, Fig. 4; Gounaris and Gounari 2004, 15, Fig. 3; Siganidou 1993, 29; Zarmakoupi 2018, 280; The use of the colony's gold resources by c. 348 BC for minting coins for the Macedonian king advertised and further solidified this integration.

[80] Dem. 23.8, 183; Delev 2015b, 49; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993, 64; It was in Maroneia, for example, that Philip and an envoy of the Odrysian king Kersebleptes met in 354/3 BC to plan a campaign against the Athenians and their Thracian ally Amadocus, another Odyrsian king who controlled territory near Maroneia

were involved in mining, ore refining, or the crafting and trade of metal goods. As for material features in Philippi's urban landscape, the oldest known structures are its wall and theater, which were built at the same time not long after Philip II claimed the site.[81]

The fortification wall, which had rectangular towers at regular intervals, surrounded the site's steep acropolis and a nearly equal amount of flat terrain at its base (Fig. 6).[82] The back of the theater at the southeastern foot of the acropolis was joined with the wall close to Philippi's eastern gate, which functioned until it was sealed in the late 3rd – early 2nd centuries BC during repairs of the wall's eastern side.[83] Only the northern walls (*analemmata*) of the entrance corridors (*parodoi*) and the ramp of the eastern corridor survive from the first building phase of Philippi's theater. These remains reveal that the theater had an orchestra (21.60 m in diam.), a seating area (*cavea*) slightly over semicircular in form, and most likely a wooden scene building (*scaena*) (Fig. 7).[84] Although the theater's first construction phase was realized after Philip took control of Philippi, it was probably planned previously by the site's Greek colonists.[85] The

[81] Adam-Veleni 2010, 31, 81, 156; Aristodemou 2015, 73; Collart 1937, 139, 171, 177; 1928, 78; Di Napoli 2018, 329; Gounaris and Gounari 2004, 21-3, 29, Fig. 7; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 275; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993, 64-5; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2000, 18, 20-1, 23, Fig. 14; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2016, 193-4; 2006a, 102; 2001b, 86-7; Sear 2006, 423.

[82] Collart 1937, 139, 171, 177; 1928, 78; Gounaris and Gounari 2004, 21-3, 29, Fig. 7; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2000, 18, 20-1, 23, Fig. 14; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2016, 193-4; 2006a, 102; 2001b, 86-7; Sear 2006, 423; The wall was 2.30 – 2.85 m wide and 3.5 km long. The southeastern gate dates to the mid-4th century BC based on finds of Attic red-figure and later pottery and bronze coins of Philip II.

[83] Adam-Veleni 2010, 81, 156; Collart 1937, 177; 1928, 77, 79-80; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2001b, 84, 87; Sear 2006, 423; The early, permanent closure of this gate, which now serves as the main entrance to the archaeological park of Philippi, was dated by bronze coins of Philip V and fragments of Megarian ware vessels.

[84] Adam-Veleni 2010, 82, 156; Collart 1937, 176; Gounaris and Gounari 2004, 29; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 275; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2000, 23; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2006c, 64; 2003a, 86-7; 2001, 74-5, 82; Sear 2006, 423; The remains that suggest a wooden *scaena* are a reddish-black clay floor and a cornerstone with a hole in it near the eastern *parodos*.

[85] Frederiksen 2015, 81; Isler 2015, 23-5; This is most likely given that stone-built, Greek theater architecture appeared first in Greek cities across the Mediterranean in the second half of the 4th century BC. This was the same architectural trend that prompted Philip to have theaters built in Macedonia's capitals.

theaters at the nearby colonies Thasos and Maroneia were also built around the same time and so are parallels for what the *scaena* of Philippi's theater may have looked like.

Built out of stone in late 4th – early 3rd century BC, Thasos' theater had a seating area that was slightly under semicircular in form. Its rectangular *scaena* had a Doric façade that held painted wooden backdrops (*pinakes*) between its pilasters and was duplicated at a smaller scale in a second story. An inscription on the northern end of the Doric frieze records how the local elite Lysistratos, son of Kodis, commissioned at least part of the *scaena* (Fig. 8). This structural articulation of Thasos' theater was likely prompted by use of its space for performances from the late 5th century BC. Evidence for this earlier activity consists of wall remains near the scene building as well as references in the works of Aristotle and Hippocrates.[86]

Maroneia's theater was also first articulated in stone in the late 4th – early 3rd century BC, as coins, pottery, and Thasian amphora handles in its foundations and corresponding layers nearby to the southeast attest. The *analemmata* are not extant, but the marble blocks that line the drain around the orchestra and foundation cuttings in the *parodoi* confirm that the *cavea* was slightly greater than semicircular in form (Fig. 9). As for the scene building, like that of Thasos' theater its stage (*proscaenium*) had a Doric façade. A rubble foundation course under the later Roman *scaena* could belong to the *proscaenium*, but nothing else of the *scaena* remains in-situ so its overall form can be determined.[87] Based on its Doric decoration, however, it is plausible

[86] *IG X*II 8, 484; *Suppl.* 399; Arist. *Poet.* 1448a; Hipp. *Epid.* I.20; Adam-Veleni 2010, 31, 86-7, 157; Aristodemou 2015, 76; Bonias 2016, 232, 236; Di Napoli 2018, 326-7; Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 105-6, 108, Fig. 62; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 280; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2006a, 101; As Aristodemou notes, Lysistratos also appears among other elites as a *θεωρός* in another inscription from Thasos (*IG* XII 2, #278). Aristotle mentions how the Thasian actor and comedy writer Hegemon was active at this time, and Hippocrates notes the theater's existence.

[87] Di Napoli 2018, 334; Karadima et al. 2015, 257-60, 263-4; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 282; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2006a, 99; Maroneia was located in Thrace, but the similarities between its theater and those at Philippi and Thasos necessitate its introduction here.

that it was similar in form to the scene building of Thasos' theater. In turn, it is probable that the scene building of Philippi's theater likewise followed a similar plan to that of Thasos'.

As for what Philippi's theater says about the kinds of people and ideas that characterized its local urban network in the late 4th – early 2nd century BC, like the fortification wall the theater likely reflects a sizeable population of a few thousand people and a sub-community of skilled craftsmen. The theater also indicates an active religious life and the existence of cult facilities and priesthoods not yet attested in the material record. This is because the dramatic performances the theater held would have been key aspects of festivals dedicated to gods like Dionysos. Archaeological evidence does not attest to the worship of Dionysos around Philippi's theater until the late 1st – early 2nd century AD. Thasos and Maroneia's theaters, however, suggest that Philippi's theater likely facilitated the god's cult from the beginning and that the cult even gained its first facilities at Philippi around when the theater was built.

Suggesting this is how Lysistratos dedicated the *scaena* of Thasos' theater to Dionysos. Moreover, the first structures in this site's sanctuary to the god, which was at the base of the acropolis on the path to the theater, were built in the mid-4th century BC. More buildings were added when the theater was elaborated at this century's end. That the oldest, largest structure in the sanctuary is a choragic monument built in the third quarter of the 4th century BC exemplifies how dramatic performances in the theater drove its structural elaboration and the sanctuary's.[88] At Maroneia, the sanctuary of Dionysos was built at the same time as the theater there and was located only c. 200 m northwest.[89] It is likely, then, that there was a similarly reciprocal relationship between the theater and the cult of Dionysos at Philippi by the late 4th century BC.

[88] Di Napoli 2018, 327; Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 92-3, 105; The sanctuary's *peribolos* wall is its earliest feature, while other monuments began emerging later in that century and at the beginning of the next.

[89] Karadima et al. 2015, 254.

A vaulted tomb installed at the center of Philippi in the 2nd century BC is likely a product of the theater allowing elites to show off their wealth and status by funding and attending dramatic performances (Fig. 6, #15). This structure thus looks forward to how Philippi's theater would shape its urban landscape by mediating political interactions in the late 1st – 4th century AD. The tomb had five wall niches, an altar table in its northwest corner, and a small stone cist grave in the center of its floor; on the lid of the grave is inscribed the name Euphenes son of Exekestos. Given these interior features, the tomb's intramural location, and the gold items and remains in the grave, the French team responsible for Philippi's early excavations identified it as a heröon and the deceased as a remarkable youth from a prominent elite family. Perhaps part of the reason why he was granted such public honors is because he attended the theater as a noted religious figure. Suggesting this is the appearance of a Euphenes son of Exekestos in an unpublished inscription from Philippi as an initiate of the Kabeiran mysteries of Samothrace.[90]

Thus, the interactions that Philippi, Thasos, and Maroneia's theaters accommodated provide a glimpse into how people encountered one another and were then inspired to participate further in their communities in the later 4th – early 2nd century BC. That these sites' theaters were built around the same time, shared design elements, and functioned similarly in their urban landscapes represents the ties that existed between Macedonia and Thrace and communities across the Aegean during this period of time. The theaters' roles as mediators would be augmented and the urban networks in which they were involved expanded with the marked increase of Roman involvement in Macedonia after it became a province.

[90] *SEG* 24:621 (Grave inscription); Gounaris and Gounari 2004, 70-3, 75-8; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993, 65; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2000, 49-50, 53-4; Pilhofer 2000, 336; Grave goods consisted of jewelry, a gold wreath, a gold diadem, and gold-plated objects. Pilhofer mentions this unpublished inscription and another appearance of this name in a list of initiates found on Samothrace. Mentioned in Pelekanidis 1978, this latter inscription also seems to be unpublished.

Unfortunately, as with Thessalonica little evidence is available for the interactions that the Via Egnatia facilitated at Philippi between when Macedonia became a province and the 1st century AD. A notable exception is that the site became a Roman colony in the late 1st century BC (see below), but even this prompted little urban growth until later in the following century, as at this study's other main sites. In noting how the few pre-colony remains found in Philippi's walls consisted of the theater and some structures at the base of acropolis, Collart posited that the site was "a modest village" (*une bourgade modeste*) until the Roman colonists integrated into their new surroundings.[91] While the available evidence does suggest that Philippi was small, it was likely larger than a village since the interactions at the site in the 3rd and early 2nd centuries BC are in keeping more with an urban center of a decent size.

Promoting the establishment of a Roman colony at Philippi is thus one significant way by which traffic on the Via Egnatia contributed to the greater complexity of actors and interactions at the site. Another way by which it did so, which also reflects the town's integration into the Roman Empire by the mid-1st century AD, was by encouraging the formation or growth of various religious communities. While they cannot be precisely dated, shrines to various deities were cut into the rocky slope of Philippi's acropolis west of the theater in the second half of the 1st and first half of the 2nd century AD (Fig. 6, #3-5). These eastern and western deities included Artemis, syncretized with the Thracian Bendis and Roman Diana; Jupiter Optimus Maximus; Silvanus; Cybele; and Isis and Serapis. Some of these deities had likely been worshipped in Macedonian Philippi, like the last two who had a home in early Thessalonica.[92]

[91] Collart 1937, 190, 274, 318-9; 1928, 82.

[92] Brélaz 2018, 177; Collart 1937, 389-486; Gounares 2004, 31-5; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2000, 10, 25-8; Vanderspoel 2010, 271.

Christianity is one of the most famous religions to arrive in Philippi along the Via Egnatia. Because of Philippi and Thessalonica's locations on the road, the apostle Paul helped to establish Christian communities at both in 49 AD. He began his ministry in Jewish communities, so Paul's visits also reveal that Judaism had spread along the Via Egnatia into Macedonia. Lydia "the god-fearer" and purple cloth merchant from Thyatira attests that trade brought easterners like Jews to Philippi and Thessalonica; her case also exemplifies these easterners' origins. Paul's letters to the Philippians and Thessalonians reveal that the interactions his visit occasioned fostered local network growth and interregional connections through exchanges of people (e.g. disciples), ideas (e.g. doctrines), and goods (e.g. funds) between Macedonia and the eastern Mediterranean. Paul's hostile reception by some at both towns also indicates that the spread of religions both bolstered to and destabilized preexisting religious and political interactions.[93]

Formal and Informal Colonization in Roman Macedonia

The final process by which Roman administrators sought to enroll Macedonia into a Roman imperial network and that laid the groundwork for local urban expansion in the late 1st century AD was the foundation of colonies at Philippi, Dion, Pella, Dyrrachium, and Cassandrea in the late 1st century BC.[94] The impetus for these colonies was Marc Antony and Octavian's war with Brutus and Cassius and the next war between the former triumvirs, after which Augustus needed to grant land to large numbers of veterans. On a practical level, there were plentiful public lands in Macedonia that could meet this need. Since these colonies were strategic postings

[93] *Acts* 16.11-15, 19-24; 17.1-10; Adam-Veleni 1993, 26; Collart 1937, 460-1; Vanderspoel 2010, 271.

[94] Adam-Veleni 1993, 26; Brélaz 2018, 163-4; Collart 1937, 229; Dickenson 2012, 202; Mikulčić 2007, 43; Pandermalis 2016b, 59; Zarmakoupi 2018, 293; In his *Res Gestae* (28), Augustus mentions how he founded veteran colonies in Macedonia.

of Roman citizens at Macedonia's center and borders, however, Augustus also seems to have intended them to bolster the province' political loyalty to Rome.[95]

Before the Battle of Philippi, Brutus was the most recent of many Roman elites who had sought Macedonia's governorship to take advantage of its human and natural resources. In his case he sought to use tax revenues from Macedonia's urban centers and to gain allies among the Macedonians and Thracians for his war against Octavian and Marc Antony. He followed the example of Pompey, who in 48 BC briefly encamped at Heraclea Lyncestis and established a base at Thessalonica while recruiting allies in and around Macedonia like the Getic king Burebista.[96] Augustus thus had good reason to suspect that Macedonia could again be a staging ground for unrest if he did not situate loyal people in strategically located communities. The sizeable additions of Italians to sites like Philippi, Dion, and Pella would have sizably expanded the possible mediation of people, objects, and ideas from Italy in interactions at these sites and between them and their neighbors. While this would have occurred organically, Augustus likely intended for this to happen since Macedonia's expansion as a regional urban network would have allowed him and the Empire to benefit further from Macedonia's human and material resources.

The Colonies at Philippi

Becoming the largest of the three, Philippi was first chosen as a colony by Marc Antony, who settled legionary veterans at the site in 42 BC after the Battle of Philippi. A coin series labelled with *A(ntoni) I(ussu) C(olonia) V(ictrix) P(hilippensium)* commemorated the occasion.

[95] Alcock 2005, 297-8; As Alcock writes, Augustus was concerned "at a time of increasing provincial institutionalization, about the development of regional economic and administrative infrastructures."

[96] Dio Cass. *Hist. Rom.* 41.43.1-5; *IGBulg* I^2 13; *SEG* 38:737; Adam-Veleni 2016b, 152; Bouzek 2005, 124; Collart 1937, 194; Giorgievska and Nasuh 2016, 73; Mikulčić 2007, 37; Vitti 1996, 56; Pompey's stay at "Heraclea near Lynk" is noted in an inscription from Dionysopolis in northeastern Thrace. Like Pompey, Crassus sought to court support in Syria and Egypt to bolster Brutus' position in Macedonia (cf. Appian's *Bellum Civile* 4).

Augustus settled legionary veterans at Dion after Actium, resulting in another coin series that reads *Col(onia) Aug(usta) Iul(ia) Philip(pensis)*. He also granted the town *ius italicum*, which in entailing new legal rights accented its special regional status as a colony.[97] *Acts*' account of Paul's visit to Philippi plausibly reflects the participation in life there of people, ideas, and structures with Italian origins. First, the self-identifying Roman men who want Paul thrown in prison accuse him of advocating unlawful customs, which suggests that Roman cultural values were spreading across Philippi. Philippi's magistrates are also alarmed that Paul had been beaten although a Roman citizen, which suggests that Roman law was upheld at the site. *Acts* also notes an agora and prison as structures that came out of increased political interactions at the site. A third building not in *Acts* but that dates to the time of Augustus is a Roman-style bath between the Via Egnatia and the later Octagon, which indicates how colonists helped to promote public bath culture. Antony and Augustus' colonies thus seem to have been major factors in Philippi's enrollment into a Roman imperial network and growth into a more complex urban network.[98]

The Colony at Dion

The same can be said about Augustus' establishment of a colony of Italian legionary veterans and civlians with *ius italicum* at Dion (*Colonia Iulia Augusta Diensis*).[99] In the

[97] App. *Bell. Civ.* 5.3; Dio Cass. *Hist. Rom.* 48.2.3; *Dig.* 50.15 *De censibus*; Strabo *Geog.* 7.331 fr. 41; Brélaz 2018, 164-5, 169-70; Collart 1937, 193, 219, 224-5, 262-3, 266; 1928, 81-2; Gounares 2004, 16; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 275; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993, 65; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2000, 9; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2016, 195; Lolos 2009, 269; Vanderspoel 2010, 270; Zarmakoupi 2018, 280; Dion, Dyrrachium and Cassandrea were also granted the *Ius Italicum*.

[98] *Acts* 16:19-21, 23, 37-8; Brélaz 2018, 164, 168; Gounares 2004, 45-7, 81-6; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993, 65; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2000, 35, 38-9, 56; A subterranean room near Basilica A was identified in the 19th century as Paul's prison and is still called this. The attribution is dubious, but the room is early Roman in date and was a chapel in the 7th-8th centuries AD. As for the agora, its remains suggest it was first built in Claudius' time.

[99] *Dig.* 50.15 *De censibus*; Chaniotis 2016, 49; Collart 1937, 229-30; Demaille 2018; Kremydi-Sicilianou 2004, 21; Oulkeroglou 2017, 287; Pandermalis 2016b, 59; Demaille (183-4) also notes an earlier colony of Italians (non-elites from Rome, freedman, and supporters of Pompey) by Q. Horensius Hortalus in 44-43 BC.

Kingdom of Macedon, Dion had been an important sanctuary for several Olympian deities. On the one hand, the site's emergence around the late 6th[100] and urban development before the late 1st century BC were fueled by its location at the base of Mt. Olympus and by its mineral springs (Fig. 2). Both factors would have naturally suggested the site as a settlement and sanctuary.[101] On the other hand, the Macedonian kings' patronage seems to have been vital for introducing many new people, institutions, structures, and objects to Dion. This patronage seemingly brought the site regional prominence because of the regional and interregional connections it entailed.

For example, by the late 4th century BC, an important focus of interactions at Dion was the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios, as is indicated by its monumental appearance by this time. Surrounded by a temenos wall with a colonnade and central propylon, it held an altar and three rows of 11 stone bases to which animals could be tied (Fig. 10, near #6).[102] The sanctuary's capacity to host numerous simultaneous sacrifices of bulls to Zeus and with elaborate architectural framing suggests occasional mass sacrifices in festivals sponsored by a Macedonian king. According to Diodorus, Alexander the Great presided over such a festival with his army and allied forces before leaving for Persia in 334 BC.[103] Royal statues and decrees that were displayed in the sanctuary, like those of Perseus and Philip V, also suggest that the space hosted encounters between Dion's inhabitants and Macedonian kings and aristocrats. The Sanctuary of

[100] Pandermalis 1999, 61; 1993, 38; Pingiatoglou 2016, 2015, 21, 32, 33 (Fig. 5, #1), 38; Pingiatoglou's 2015 book focuses on Dion's Sanctuary of Demeter. The earliest finds from Dion come from the sanctuary of Demeter. They consist of a megaron temple and offerings of various kinds found inside it that were dedicated to Demeter and Kore.

[101] Livy *Hist.* 44.6.14-5; Oulkeroglou 2017, 287, 317; Pandermalis 1993, 38, 40; Zarmakoupi 2018, 286-7; Livy notes Dion's water resources when he writes that the Baphyrus River was between Mt. Olympus and the coast.

[102] Polyb. 4.62.2 (mentions the sanctuary of Zeus); Graf 2016, 67; Karadedos 2016c, 64; Pandermalis 2016b, 57; 1999, 44 ff.; Pandermalis provides a general archaeological overview of Dion (in Greek) that covers all the known cult facilities. The 2016 volume edited by Pandermalis covers much of the same information in English.

[103] Diod. Sic. *Bib. Hist.* 17.16.3-4; Graf 2016, 67; Miller 2016, 293-4; Pandermalis 2016b, 57-8.

Zeus thus implies that the regular participation of Macedonian kings and elites in interactions at Dion played a significant role in shaping its urban landscape in the 4th – early 2nd century BC.[104]

Like at Pella and Aigai, it was most likely royal patronage that introduced public entertainment venues to Dion, a stadium and a theater. The stadium, which is located at the southern edge of Dion, has been lightly excavated; these excavations revealed that it always remained a dirt track flanked by earth seating terraces (Figs. 10 – 11). Together with the literary testimony that Alexander I (r. 497 – 454 BC) was the first Macedonian to compete in the Olympic games, the fact that his coins were the earliest in the stadium's backfill suggest that he established iso-Olympic games and a venue for them at Dion. Other coins found in the stadium imply that it continued to host games under later kings. Because these later games and attendant sacrifices were likely costly, it is in turn likely that these kings presided over them.[105] The stadium would have brought together a wide range of people: inhabitants of Dion and its hinterland, Macedonian elites if not also kings, local and foreign athletes, etc. The interactions among them during athletic games would have contributed to new material forms that expressed and further promoted ideas similar to those created in the sanctuary of Zeus, like the idea that Macedonian influence over the affairs of Greek city-states could bring them prosperity.

One new material form produced through the stadium's mediation was the theater built at the stadium's southeast corner in the last quarter of the 3rd century BC, likely through Philip V's

[104] Polyb. 4.62.2; Adam-Veleni 2016a, 8; Graf 2016, 67; Pandermalis 1999, 54-6, 59; 1993, 38; These statues and decrees were buried in the sanctuary (e.g. a statue base dedicated to King Perseus and two decrees of Philip V).

[105] Herod. 5.22; Adam-Veleni 2010, 75-6, 152; Di Napoli 2018, 323; Drougou 1999, 73; Graf 2016, 68, 73; Karadedos 2016c, 63-5, 71; Karadedos et al. 2014, 13; Pandermalis 1999, 76, 81; 1998, 171; The location of Dion's stadium has been known since the 19th century, but the only excavations there were in 1995. They revealed the boundaries of the track and the seating terraces on either side. Besides tetra obols of Alexander 1, bronze coins of Philip II, Cassander (r. 316 – 297), Antigonos Gonatas (r. 277 – 239), and Philip V (r. 221 – 179) were found.

patronage (Figs. 10, 12).[106] This causal relationship is supported by how the theater increased Dion's capacity to host festivals for various Olympians. Referring to the festival that Alexander the Great hosted at Dion before his Persian campaigns, Diodorus writes that the theater was important for the worship of Zeus with the Nine Muses. Diodorus accredits the festival to Archelaus and notes it was nine days of dramatic performances and panegyrics.[107] Scholarly consensus accepts the festival's existence, but it is not clearly supported by archaeological evidence.[108] Whatever festivals the theater hosted, among spectators and performers the building promoted both Dion's prominence as a regional sanctuary of the Olympian gods and the political authority of Macedonia's kings, who most likely made the theater and its performances possible.

Dion's Sanctuary of Zeus, stadium, and theater thus convincingly support how much of the site's early urban growth came from it being a sanctuary that gained regional and interregional renown through Macedonian royal patronage. This patronage, however, would not have been successful or even possible without the cooperation of the population that came to live at Dion. It most likely included Macedonian elites, the priests of the site's various cults, staff who helped to maintain these cults' facilities, and craftsmen who produced figurines, vessels, and other offerings for pilgrims. More people would have lived in Dion's hinterland. Given the need of the site's cults for animal and agricultural offerings, smaller settlements around Dion were likely home to farmers and husbandrists whose livelihoods benefited from activities there.

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[106] Hatzopoulos *Mac. Inst.* II 57 (*SEG* 27.279b; *SEG* 48.781; *BE* (2000), 522, #453); Poly. 4.62.1-2; Adam-Veleni 2010, 31, 89, 158; Di Napoli 2018, 323; Graf 2016, 67; Karadedos et al. 2014, 19; Kremydi-Sicilianou 2004, 19; Pandermalis 2016b, 58; 1999, 46, 75; Based on older strata around the theater, it is possible that there was an earlier theater that had been burned down by the Aetolians when they plundered Dion in 219 BC.

[107] Diod. Sic. *Bib. Hist.* 17.16.3-4; Adam-Veleni 2016a, 19; 2010, 71, 131, 143; Di Napoli 2018, 322; Graf 2016, 68; Karadedos 2016c, 65; Karadedos et al. 2014, 13; Pandermalis 2016b, 57; 1993, 38.

[108] Hatzopoulos *Mac. Inst.* II 35 (Oikonomos *Epigraphai* (1915) 7, 2; *SEG* 34.619; 49:697); Pandermalis 2001, 415-23; Priests (*οἱ Μουσαϊσταί*) and a cult of the Muses are attested on an inscribed base for a statue of King Perseus, but the inscription does not mention the festival. Pandermalis notes that a shrine of the Muses has not yet been found.

Little is known about life at the small town between when Macedonia became a Roman province and the foundation of Augustus' colony. It would have continued to function as a sanctuary and probably still had a small intramural population, but most of the people who used the site as a sanctuary and interactive hub seemingly still lived in nearby settlements. Moreover, without the royal funds that seem to have provided for much of their use and maintenance, the theater and Sanctuary of Zeus were neglected until at least the former was abandoned in the second half of the 1st century AD.[109] Although the few excavation results from the stadium cannot confirm it, it is plausible that it also no longer hosted athletic games by this time.

It is likely, then, that Augustus' veteran colony bolstered a small population at Dion. The colony inspired more immigrants from Italy, veterans and civilians, to settle at Dion in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. Material manifestations of these settlers' interactions in Dion's landscape attest that these new settlers helped Dion to rebound as a town and regional sanctuary. For example, a new theater was built, the stadium's use was renewed, new structures were added to sanctuaries like that of Demeter, and new sanctuaries like that of Zeus Hypsistos were built.[110] Unlike Macedonian Dion, then, Roman Dion was a settlement as much as a sanctuary, with a smaller regional profile but similarly extensive interregional ties, particularly western-oriented ones.[111]

The Colony at Pella

Like Philippi, Pella, now west of the former Macedonian capital, was first founded as a veteran colony by Octavian and Antony in 40 BC and again by Augustus as *Colonia Iulia*

[109] Karadedos 2016a, 75; Karadedos et al. 2014, 20; Kremydi-Sicilianou 2004, 22; Palaiokrassa 2016, 97-8; Pandermalis 2016b, 61; 1999, 74, 44-59; Pandermalis does not suggest a date for when Dion's Hellenistic theater and the Sanctuary of Zeus fell out of use. Palaiokrassa suggests that the theater was no longer in use by the early 2nd century AD when the Roman-style theater was built at Dion.

[110] Demaille 2018, 194; Karadedos et al. 2014, 13; Pandermalis 2016a, 26; Pingiatoglou 2016, 32, 34; 2015, 21-47.

[111] Chaniotis 2016, 49-50; Zarmakoupi 2018, 292.

Augusta Pellensis. The settlers were supposedly not Italians but Greeks from whom he had taken land in Italy to give to his veterans. Unlike Dion and Philippi, Pella did not receive the *ius italicum*. Although sparsely excavated, Pella does not seem to have become as significant of an urban center as Dion and Philippi.[112] Again, one reason for this is likely the site's proximity to Thessalonica, which continued to prosper after Antony and Octavian made it a *civitas libera.*[113] Even if it did not catalyze Pella's expansion into a city, the colony did restore Pella as an urban center and thus allowed it to facilitate connections between Macedonia's other towns and cities.

Informal Veteran Colonies

Roman emperors in the 1st century AD also encouraged legionary veterans to settle in Macedonia on an informal basis. These informal colonies catalyzed local urban development and thereby bolstered Macedonia's development as a Roman province. Under the Flavian emperors in particular, veteran legionaries who had been posted along the Danube settled in northern Macedonian towns like Heraclea and Stobi, the latter of which was a *municipium* by this time. As grave markers inscribed in Latin attest, both were home to veterans of legions like *V Macedonica* and *VII Pia Claudia*. The arrival at Heraclea and Stobi of veterans from these two particular legions coincided with their settlement *en masse* at a new colony at Scupi in Moesia Superior (Fig. 3). It is unclear if Vespasian or Domitian made the *Colonia Flavia Scupinorum* in the late 1st century AD, but most scholars favor a foundation under the latter c. 85 AD.[114] Thus,

[112] Chrysostomou 2003, 93, 147-8; Collart 1937, 229; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2003a, 13, 134; 1993, 43; Lolos 2009, 269, 276; Chrysostomou also notes how Pella was called *Colonia Pellensis*, *Colonia Pella*, and *Pella* on its coins.

[113] Adam-Veleni 2016b, 152; Vitti 1996, 57.

[114] *IMS* VI, #42-3 (veterans of *V Macedonica* buried at Scupi, one of whom was from Stobi); Babamova 2012, 50-2, 55, #49-51, 57 (veterans of *IV Scythica* and *V Macedonica* at Stobi); Demaille 2018, 186; Jakimovski 2017, 13, fn. 1; Jakimovski et al. 2017, 31; Janakievksi 2001, 17; 1998, 38-9, 41; 1987, 11; Kalpakovska and Gorgievksi 2003, 47-8, #36 (veteran of *VII Pia Claudia* from Heraclea); *Macedonian Cultural Heritage* 2008, 21; Miloševski and Lilčić 2017, 426; Tacheva 2004, 63; Topalilov (2018, 153) favor a foundation for Scupi under Vespasian. As for Heraclea's official status, it perhaps remained an *oppidum Romanorum* as Stobi had been under Augustus.

legionary veterans were in towns across Macedonia by the late 1st – early 2nd century AD. As contemporary building projects at Heraclea and Stobi suggest (see Chapters Four and Five), these veterans brought ideas and objects into their cultural, political, religious, and economic dealings with their local neighbors that shaped their new cities in line with wider imperial trends.

Conclusion

In large part because of Roman colonies, increased pedestrian traffic along Roman-controlled roads like Via Egnatia, and Rome's wars in neighboring areas, by the 1st century AD the Roman province of Macedonia was quite different from the regional network the Republic had seized from Perseus in 168 BC. In driving Macedonia's enrollment into the Roman Empire, these processes renewed and expanded interactions that had existed between this crossroads' communities and those in neighboring provinces in the previous two centuries. They also permitted the regular engagement in these interactions of people, ideas, and objects from Italy and the western Mediterranean. Available literary, epigraphical, and archaeological evidence for this study's main sites in Macedonia (Philippi, Thessalonica, Heraclea Lyncestis, and Stobi) attests to the various ways by which this interregional interconnectivity contributed to gradual yet inconsistent urbanization at particular sites. This evidence also suggests that change was not exclusively driven by elites in Rome, actors originating in Italy, or local elites. Change instead required the cooperation of a broad cross-section of actors from inside and outside Macedonia.

CHAPTER THREE: URBANIZATION IN PRE- AND EARLY ROMAN THRACE (168 BC – LATE 1ST CENTURY AD)

Introduction

Like Macedonia, as a Roman province Thrace too was a significantly different regional network by the late 1st century AD than it had been two centuries earlier. In the intervening span of time, the changes that came gradually to Thrace's settlements were tied to those occurring in its neighboring crossroads region Macedonia. It was already noted in Chapter Two's introduction how Roman involvement in Macedonia during the Macedonian Wars planted the seeds of both Macedonia and Thrace's enrollment into the Roman Empire. In the same way, Roman activity in Macedonia after it became a province furthered this process of integration for both regions. This chapter explores how the same three processes (frequent warfare with neighboring peoples, the Roman coopting of roadways, and the foundation of colonies) that promoted Macedonia's participation in the Roman Empire and local urban network expansion also did so in Thrace.

In the two centuries between when Macedonia and Thrace became provinces (146 BC – 46 AD), frequent conflicts between Roman armies based in Macedonia and various tribes of Thracians and Dacians affected communities across Thrace in various ways. This is the first topic in this chapter's discussion. Scattered literary references offer some possibilities for how Roman armies' activities in Thrace fueled interactions among the peoples who lived in the region in the late 2nd century BC into the early 1st century AD. There is also a similarly dispersed body of architectural, artifactual, and epigraphic evidence for such interactions and urbanization in Thrace in this period of time. In comparison to Macedonia, this evidence is currently somewhat scarcer, even for sites that were cities by the late 1st century AD.

The emergence of the client kingdom of Thrace around the mid-1st century BC stands out in these literary snippets and extant archaeological data. In its expansion at other Thracians' expense, this kingdom is a good example of what Thrace's ties to the Roman Empire meant for urban development in the region before it was a province. As for individual sites, Philippopolis provides some of the best archaeological data for urbanization in Thrace and the region's increasing participation in a Roman imperial network in the century before it became a province. It is thus the first of this study's main sites in Thrace introduced in this chapter.

More archaeological and literary evidence, however, is available for how frequent warfare with neighboring peoples, the foundation of colonies, and the Roman coopting of roadways affected local urban growth in Thrace after it became a province. This chapter's discussion of continual conflicts between Roman armies and peoples across Thrace in the late 2nd century BC – early 1st century AD thus turns next to such conflicts in the 1st and early 2nd century AD in northern Thrace along the Danube (in the province of Moesia). These wars were more immediate contributing factors to the expansion of Thrace's urban centers than the preceding century's wars. This can be seen in the establishment of sites like Serdica and Augusta Traiana. These were two of several sites that Trajan declared "urban" to endorse their growth as part of larger administrative changes after his Dacian wars.

Further wars in Thrace in the 1st century AD also prompted Roman emperors to promote the region's integration into the Roman Empire through a second process of colonization, to which discussion turns in the middle of this chapter. This colonization entailed establishing formal colonies and informally supporting veteran settlement across the province. Formal colonies were established later in Thrace than in Macedonia, at Apri and Deultum in southeastern and eastern Thrace under Claudius and Vespasian, respectively (Fig. 4). Inscribed

monuments dating to the second half of the 1st and early 2nd century AD attest to legionary and auxiliary veterans settling informally at sites like Serdica and Philippopolis.

The last topic covered in this chapter is how the main roadways that facilitated the movement of Roman armies and the settlement of veterans across Thrace were also steady sources for other people as well as objects and ideas that made local network expansion possible. For Philippopolis, Diocletianopolis, Serdica, and Augusta Traiana, the Via Diagonalis and the road connecting it to the western Black Sea coast were the most important routes for increasing possibilities for intraurban interactions. The Via Egnatia was also vital to urban expansion in Thrace, particularly on the northern Aegean coast.

As in the case of Macedonia, then, becoming a province did not mark the end of Thrace's integration into the Roman Empire. Nor did it immediately bring about large-scale and widespread urban change. Instead (and against the traditional historical narrative), Thrace being claimed as a province of the Roman Empire regularized the region's already longstanding participation in the Empire's interregional ties. In doing so, this administrative change – while curtailing the Thracians' political and economic autonomy and disrupting traditional settlement patterns – produced new opportunities for interactions among people, places, and objects at certain locales across the regions. It took time, though, for the increasingly centralized interconnectivity at these sites to begin regularly manifesting in visually prominent ways.

New Urban Networks in Roman Thrace

Rome's Conflicts with Thracians (146 BC – 46 AD)

After Macedonia became a Roman province (146 BC), its governors knew that they needed to guarantee the cooperation or subjugation of communities in Thrace for their province's

safety and prosperity.[1] This was made immediately clear since both Metellus and, a few years later, the *quaestor* Tremullus Scrofa suppressed large forces of Thracians gathered by pretenders to the Macedonian throne.[2] Additionally, with the *lex de provinciis praetoriis* c. 100 BC, governors of Macedonia became responsible for lands in southeast Thrace formerly held by the Attalids. This made Roman military intervention in Thrace vital for defending the province of Asia as well.[3] Therefore, in the later 2nd – 1st centuries BC, conflicts between Roman armies and peoples in or around Thrace were frequent stimuli to the region's participation in the interactions that sustained Roman *imperium* in the Eastern Mediterranean. As in Macedonia, these conflicts had the potential to disrupt or promote the expansion of urban landscapes across the region.

Macedonia's governors often marched into Thrace to retaliate against or preemptively attack the Thracian and Dacian tribes that raided their province. From the late 2nd – 1st century BC, they fought across Thrace with groups such as the Bastarnae, Bessi, and Getae. In 107 – 106 BC, for example, M. Minucius Rufus campaigned against the Bessi in central Thrace because they had supported the Scordisci in their raids in northern Macedonia, as in the area of Stobi.[4] For at least some peoples living in and around Thrace, then, local urban development through interactions like raiding, trade, construction, and simply population growth could have been constrained to some extent by Roman military actions.

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[1] Bouzek 2005, 112; Collart 1937, 242-3; Lozanov 2015, 75-6; Tacheva 2004, 51; Vanderspoel 2010, 251-2, 255, 257, 270; In the final Macedonian War Philip Andriscus had depended on Thracian allies to seize Macedonia.

[2] Vanderspoel 2010, 261; Metellus contended with Alexander, a purported son of Perseus, and Scrofa with Pseudo-Philip (or Pseudo-Perseus).

[3] Bouzek 2005, 113; Loukopoulou 1989, 73-81; Lozanov 2015, 76; Walbank 1983; Zahariade 2009, 46.

[4] *CIL* 1^2 692: This is an inscribed statue base dedicated by the people of Delphi to M. Minucius, son of Quintus, for his victory over the Scordisci, Bessi, and other Thracians (*τὸν πρὸς...Σκορδίστας [καὶ τὸ]ν πρὸς Βέσσους [καὶ τοὺς λ]οιποὺς Θρᾷι[κας π]όλεμον*).; Fest. *Brev.* 9; Livy *Per.* 65; Bouzek 2005, 113; Collart 1937, 244; Graninger 2015, 26; Lozanov 2015, 84; Tacheva 2004, 51-2; Vanderspoel 2010, 262; Zahariade 2009, 44-5.

Conflicts in the 80s and 70s BC between the Roman Republic and Mithridates over control of eastern and southeastern Thrace seem to have been particularly turbulent for interactions in these sub-regions. For example, Plutarch claims that in 85 BC Sulla ravaged the territory of the Maedi in southwestern Thrace because they had been Mithridates' allies. Although Plutarch likely exaggerates the damage of Sulla's attacks, they still to some extent would have disrupted connections between the Maedi's settlements and their access to resources needed for growth. As for the settlements themselves, they could have been damaged and likely lost many inhabitants to war or enslavement afterwards.[5]

Other writers note how M. Terentius Varro Lucullus attacked the Bessi on his march into eastern Thrace (73 – 71 BC) to reclaim the Greek colonies there. The Bessi's capital Uscudama and Kabyle are two sites that are thought to have suffered damage during Lucullus' campaign. When Lucullus reached the Black Sea, he also had Apollonia Pontica plundered because it did not resubmit with its neighbors.[6] Maroneia is another Greek colony where life was likely disrupted during the Mithridatic wars. Fragments of two decrees found on Samothrace record how Maroneia sent embassies to the emperor Claudius to renew its friendship with the Romans. The larger fragment notes that the city suffered severe damage (*ἡ κατασκαφή*) at some point in

[5] Plut. *Sulla* 23; Bouzek 2005, 113, 122-3; Lozanov 2015, 84; Tacheva 2004, 52; Zahariade 2009, 46-7; For example, Sulla's campaign in Thrace was likely the cause of Spartacus' enslavement. The case of Spartacus demonstrates how Rome's conflicts with Thracians like the Maedi not only deprived them of people in general but also of individuals whose ambition could have contributed particularly meaningfully to local community growth.

[6] Appian 6.30; Eutropius 6.7, 10 (*Illic* [Lucullus] *Apolloniam evertit*); Livy *Per.* 97; Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 4.27, 34.18; Bouzek 2005, 113; Collart 1937, 244; Ivanov 2005, 6; Lozanov 2015, 76-7; Tacheva 2004, 52; Vanderspoel 2010, 263-4; Zahariade 2009, 49-50; An inscription from Mesambria (*IGBulg* 1^2 314 a), located a short distance north of Apollonia, records how Lucullus wintered there in 72/71 BC before he ordered Apollonia's destruction. Pliny indirectly confirms the attack in mentioning how the general plundered a large cult statue of Apollo from Apollonia.

the past because of their loyalty to Rome. According to Kevin Clinton, this makes the most sense in the context of the march of Mithridates' son through southern Thrace in 87 – 86 BC.[7]

Major conflicts in Thrace appear to have been barriers to local network expansion on the Black Sea coast and in northeastern Thrace for the rest of the 1st century BC. In 61 BC, for instance, G. Antonius Hybrida's campaign into northeastern Thrace caused trouble for the Dardani, Bastarni, and perhaps the Getae before it was thwarted near Histria. G. Octavius launched a successful counter-offensive and also defeated the Bessi a couple of years later.[8] Conflict resumed a couple of decades later and also radiated south into Thrace. This is exemplified well by M. Licinius Crassus' conflicts with the Getae, Bessi, and Bastarnae in northeastern Thrace between 30 and 27 BC.[9] Crassus' campaigns may have been particularly disruptive for the Bessi's communities since he supposedly gave their sanctuary of Dionysos to the Odrysae. This disruption and an attendant sense of hostility is suggested by how Vologaeses led the Bessi and many Odrysae in a failed attempt at retribution against the Romans in 13 BC.[10]

Dio Cassius notes how the Serdi and Maedi tried to block Crassus' path back to Macedonia by "fortifying positions" (*χωρία τε ἐντειχιζόμενοι*). Nadezhda Kirova holds that this detail provides "confirmation that [Serdica] was a significant settlement" at the time of Crassus'

[7] *IThrAeg* E 180; Clinton 2003; Terzopoulou 2018, 115-6; Wörrle 2004; Clinton discusses Appian (*Mith.* 35.137) and Plutarch's (*Sulla* 11.2) accounts of the march of Mithridates' son.

[8] Dio Cass. 38.102-3; Livy *Per.* 103; Suet. *Aug.* 3; Bouzek 2005, 113; Collart 1937, 244; Lozanov 2015, 77; Tacheva 2004, 52; Zahariade 2009, 50-1.

[9] Dio Cass. 51.26; Strabo *Geogr.* 7.3.11; Bouzek 2005, 124-5; Collart 1937, 242 ff., 246-7 (Crassus' campaign); Lozanov 2015, 77-8; Tacheva 2004, 52; Vanderspoel 2010, 264; Zahariade 2009, 53-4; After Octavius' victory, wars in eastern Thrace seem to have paused since Burebista controlled it between 55 and his death in the 40s BC.

[10] Dio Cass. 51.23.2 (beginning of Crassus' campaign), 51.25.5 (Crassus takes the sanctuary of Dionysos from the Bessi); Bouzek 2005, 113; Collart 1937, 246-7; Graninger 2015, 26; Lozanov 2015, 78; Zahariade 2009, 55.

campaign.[11] This conclusion is overstated since Dio Cassius does not supply enough information to accept that the *χωρία* he mentions were more than forts. An inscription found at Athens and dated to the mid-1st century BC does note how two Thracian brothers were driven from their "city of the Serdi" (*ἄστυ τὸ [Σε]ρδων*). Since there is as yet no archaeological evidence for life at Serdica in the mid-1st century BC, however, the "city" the brothers mention was likely a poetic way to refer to the small settlements that had existed around later Serdica since the 3rd century BC.[12] If forts or perhaps small settlements belonging to the Serdi were damaged by Crassus' army, as Dio Cassius suggests, they further exemplify how Roman incursions into Thrace could disrupt local peoples' attempts to expand interactions at and between their settlements.

Thus, Rome's wars with Thracian tribes and other peoples neighboring Macedonia are likely to have disrupted interactions in and between some communities in Thrace between the mid-2nd and late 1st century BC. At the same time, these conflicts also afforded new interactions, not only for those they adversely affected but also for those they benefited. For the former like the Bastarnae, Bessi, and Getae, Rome's military involvement in Thrace seems to have promoted political, military, and perhaps supply ties among the communities that made up each tribe. Judging from these tribes' resistance to Roman armies and how it involved coalitions, frequent Roman military involvement in Thrace also seems to have promoted senses of tribal identity as well as a unified Thracian identity between neighboring tribes, such as the Getae and Bessi.

As for local network growth, wartime interactions between the settlements of Rome's Thracian enemies had likely afforded small-scale changes by the late 1st century BC. For

[11] Dio Cass. 51.25.4 (the Maedi and Serdi's stand against Crassus: *τότε χωρία τε ἐντειχιζόμενοι καὶ πολεμησείοντες ἠγγέλοντο. καί σφων Μαίδους μὲν καὶ Σερδοὺς μάχαις τε κατακρατῶν*); Kirova 2012, 199; Zahariade 2009, 54.

[12] *IG* II^2 4786 (*Θρήικες οἱ ναίοντες ἀγακλυτὸν ἄστυ τὸ [Σέ]ρδω[ν] / Ἀρτεμίδωρος σὺν ἀδελφῷ*); Ivanov 1993, 225; Kirova 2012, 199.

example, the case of the Serdi's and Maedi's forts suggests their larger settlements were also fortified. The Bessi's apparent outrage over the loss of their sanctuary suggests that sanctuaries between their settlements were popular foci of activity that helped to boost morale and a sense of identity. Such sanctuaries thus likely hosted more people and held more dedications as people like the Bessi continued to engage Roman forces. Moreover, weapon and craft production most likely increased at settlements as preparation for war efforts. Another cause of local network expansion could have been the regular movement of allies from other tribes through settlements.

Rome's allies in Thrace were in most cases tribes in central and southeastern Thrace like the Odrysae and the Greek colonies on the western Black Sea and northern Aegean Sea coasts. They would have benefited both indirectly and directly from Rome's support. A political and military alliance with the Romans indirectly assured allies a degree of stability, possibly allowing for interactions in their communities to expand. Maroneia, for example, presumably fared fairly well because of the alliance it negotiated with Rome around 167 BC; an inscription from the site records this.[13] This general security is implied in the inscription from Samothrace that records how Maroneia sought the alliance's renewal in the time of Claudius, even though the alliance had not prevented at least one major attack on the city.

In terms of direct benefits, allied Thracian tribes gained the aid of Roman legions in disputes with neighbors who resisted Rome. This in turn allowed them to gain plunder and territory from their enemies, as when Crassus is reported to have awarded control of the Bessi's sanctuary of Dionysos to the Odyrsae. The best example of this is Augustus' official endorsement of the creation of a client kingdom of Thrace around 13 BC. The primary

[13] *IThrAeg* E 168; *SEG* 35.823, 53.658; Terzopoulou 2018, 115; The inscription calls for friendship and an alliance among the peoples of Maroneia, Ainos, and Rome and for the end of war among them in perpetuity (*φιλία καὶ συμμαχία καλὴ ἔστω καὶ κατὰ/ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον/ πόλεμος δὲ μὴ ἔστω*).

beneficiaries of this gift of control over all of Thrace were those central and southeastern Thracian tribes that had been the Romans' longest and closest allies, the Odrysae, Sapaei, and Astaei. Together they supplied the leaders for the new client kingdom.[14]

The Client Kingdom of Thrace

The basis for the province of Thrace, this client kingdom entailed the division of Thrace into numerous, loosely defined districts (*στρατεγοί*). Each of these had a capital, which most likely began as a fortified citadel, and was governed by a general (*στρατεγός*), who was selected from the family and close elite companions of the ruling king. All of these local leaders were granted Roman citizenship. It seems that the number and even the capitals of the districts were not fixed but multiplied over time to meet changing administrative needs. Pliny the Elder notes an inflated figure of 50 districts while Claudius Ptolemy records only 14. An inscription found near Abdera (the "Svãrlig inscription") and dated near the end of Claudius' principate records 33 *στρατεγοί* and 22 of their administrators. District capitals noted in literary sources include Ruse in northeastern Thrace and Anchialos at the middle of the western Black Sea coast.[15]

The only part of Thrace not controlled by the new client kingdom and so not subject to the *στρατεγοί* system was the western third of the area between the Haemus Mountains and the Danube River up to the western Black Sea coast. Since this area was still threatened by Dacian incursions from across the Danube, a Roman legate and two legions (the *V Macedonica* and *IV Scythica*) were stationed at its western end, which was called the *praefectura civitatium Moesiae*

[14] Tac. *Ann.* 2.64; Collart 1937, 245, 249-50; Delev 2018, ; 26-7; Lozanov 2015, 75, 78-9, 84; Tacheva 2004, 53, 68; Zahariade 2009, 55-6.

[15] *BE* 1959, 333; Plin. *N.H.* 4.11.40; Ptol. *Geogr.* 3.11.6; Balabanov 2000, 12; Bouzek 2005, 137; Gerov 1970; Lozanov 2015, 79, 81-2; Parissaki 2009; Ruscu 2007, 214; Tacheva 2004, 50, 53, 58-9, 68; Topalilov 2013, 186; Zahariade 2009, 29-30; Zahariade and Tacheva go into depth on what is currently known about the *στρατεγοί.*

et Treballiae.[16] New opportunities for local network expansion were also afforded to the entire area between the Haemus mountains and the Danube by migrations of people like the Bessi, who may have moved in part to gain employment in war efforts along the Danube. Strabo also notes that in his time Macedonia's governor Aelius Catus forcibly relocated thousands of Getae from north to south of the Danube (c. 6 AD).[17] The prefecture of Moesia and Treballia became the province of Moesia either at the end of Augustus's principate or soon after under Tiberius. The province's creation has been dated to 15 AD based on references in Dio Cassius and Tacitus to Tiberius' reappointment of Poppaeus Sabinus as its governor and to Sabinus' death.[18]

On a regional level, then, the formation of the client kingdom of Thrace entailed a loose restructuring of the many tribal territories that still existed in the region as well as the intent to give control of them to elites from tribes allied with Rome. This imposition of a centralized administration over tribal territories previously ruled separately likely did not bring significant changes to how settlements interacted across territorial borders. This is because the kingdom's *στρατεγοί* seemingly retained a fair measure of administrative independence and so mimicked the numerous kingdoms into which Thrace had traditionally been divided. While one king ruling all of Thrace was new, this centralized authority seems to have worked with the *στρατεγοί*'s generals like Thracian kings had ruled their territories with their aristocratic companions in the 4th and 3rd

[16] *CIL* V 1838; Bouzek 2004, 136; Haynes 2011, 7; Tacheva 2004, 53; Zahariade 2009, 34; As Zahariade notes, there is not yet evidence for *στρατεγοί* north of the Haemus Mountains. This area was given the general designation *ripa Thraciae*. A garrison of the *legio V Macedonica* contributed to the population growth and possibilities for interaction at what was then the small settlement Oescus, for example.

[17] Strabo *Geogr.* 7.3.10 (*ἔτι γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Αἴλιος Κάτος μετῴκισεν ἐκ τῆς περαίας τοῦ Ἴστρου πέντε μυριάδας σωμάτων παρὰ τῶν Γετῶν...εἰς τὴν Θράκην*); Bouzek 2004, 136; Ruscu 2007, 226; Tacheva 2004, 53; Zahariade 2009, 34-6.

[18] Dio Cass. 58.25.4 (Sabinus dies in 35 AD after having been governor of Moesia for nearly all of Tiberius' principate); Tac. *Ann.* 1.80 (Tiberius reappoints Sabinus as governor of Moesia); 6.39.3 (Sabinus' death); Collart 1937, 251; Ivanov 1983, 129; Lozanov 2015, 75-6, 80; Tacheva 2004, 53; Vanderspoel 2010, 269-70; Tacheva disagrees with the traditional date of Moesia's creation in 15 AD and instead suggests that it was created c. 12 AD.

centuries BC. As Ivaylo Lozanov writes, the client kingdom of Thrace largely "revived an old form of the extinct Odrysian kingdom from the Classical period."[19]

The kings of this largely unified Thrace were close Roman allies and so were prominent advocates for the region's greater enrollment in a Roman imperial network. The first king Rhoemetalkes I (r. 13 BC – 12 AD) set the precedent for this close relationship. The creation of his kingdom ended wars in Thrace, but he continued to lend troops to Roman military efforts in neighboring regions. He most notably led a cavalry force to help Moesia's governor suppress a revolt in Pannonia in 7 – 8 AD.[20] Rhoemetalkes' successors were also ready to provide auxiliary support for Roman armies. Rhoemetalkes II helped Roman forces suppress revolts in his kingdom in 21 and 26 AD. According to Tacitus, the second revolt even arose from some northern Thracian tribes' discontent over Rhoemetalkes II's readiness to levy auxiliaries.[21] Rhoemetalkes I and II's support for Roman war efforts led to the regular participation of Thracian elites and non-elites in Roman armies past the 1st century AD and in far locations.[22]

A particularly symbolic material product of the Thracian client kingdom's participation in a Roman imperial network is the coinage of Rhoemetalkes I and his successors. Rhoemetalkes

[19] Lozanov 2015, 78; Zahariade 2009, 29; The client kingdom's districts were subdivided in the 1st century AD, a change that was reminiscent of the fluctuating territories of Thracian kingdoms in previous centuries. Perhaps the selection of particular sites for *στρατεγοί* capitals contributed to the concentration of political and economic interactions at them. For now, not enough capitals are known, and known capitals are been excavated sufficiently.

[20] Apostolou and Papageorgiadou 2018, 52; Bouzek 2005, 114; Collart 1937, 250; Haynes 2011, 7; Lozanov 2015, 79; Tacheva 2004, 53; Topalilov 2012, 4-5; Zahariade 2009, 55-6, 69.

[21] Tac. *Ann.* 3.38-9 (the revolt of 21 AD); 4.46-51 (the revolt of 26 AD; the motivations for this revolt at 4.46: *si mitterent auxilis, suos ductores praeficere, nec nisi adversum accolas belligerare. Ac tum rumor incesserant fore ut disiecti aliisque nationibus permixti diversa in terras traherentur*); Bouzek 2005, 114; Collart 1937, 252; Haynes 2011, 7; Tacheva 2004, 54-5; Zahariade 2009, 56-7, 62-3; Rhoemetalkes II (r. 18/19 – c. 37 AD) was Rhoemetalkes I's nephew. The revolt of 26 AD supposedly arose because some northern tribes were angered that Thracian commanders would not lead Thracian auxiliary contingents and that these contingents would be posted far away.

[22] Bouzek 2005, 113, 123; Haynes 2011, 8; Lozanov 2015, 79; Zahariade 2009, 59; Zahariade's book accounts for the Thracian infantry and cavalry units known from epigraphic sources and where they were posted in the Empire.

I's bronze coins are the best known with around 2,500 examples from around Thrace. A large number (123) were found at Abdera, for example, which attests both to the king's administrative hold over Thrace and to the continuation of Thracian kings' centuries-long ties with Greek colonies in the northern Aegean. Rhoemetalkes' coins advertise his political and military cooperation with Roman interests in and around Thrace by picturing his image on one side and Augustus' on the other (Fig. 18). Diademed and labeled *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ*, the king is presented alone or next to his wife Pythadoris. In some series the king is also labelled with the monogram *ΡΜΑΤ*, which in most cases is stamped on his neck. Augustus is pictured diademed or bare-headed and labelled as *ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ*; his is presented alone or with Livia, and in some series a small Capricorn follows his image. Rhoemetalkes II and III presented themselves similarly in relation to Tiberius and Caligula.[23] These coins attest to political and military interactions between the first Roman emperors and the Thracian client kings. They also suggest that this cooperation occasioned further economic ties among communities in Thrace, which likely increasingly involved soldiers and traders from nearby Roman provinces.

The Thracian Client Kingdom and Philippopolis

Roman interference in the Thracian client kingdom also seems to have furthered the expansion of some settlements like the town of Philippopolis. Situated in central Thrace on the south bank of the Hebros River amid a cluster of hills, the site of Philippopolis was first settled in the Neolithic period (c. 6,000 BC) because of its fertile agricultural and grazing land. Small settlements on the site's hills, particularly on the largest three Dzhambaz Tepe, Teksim Tepe,

[23] Apostolou and Papageorgiadou 2018, 53-4, 59, 61; Collart 1937, 256; Lozanov 2015, 79; Paunov 2015, 274, 278, 281; Terzopoulou 2018, 117; Tasaklaki 2018, 281-3; Zahariade 2009, 58; Far fewer coins were minted for Rhoemetalkes II and III, a grandson of Rhoemetalkes I. Only c. 40 examples of each ruler's coins have been found. The coins minted by Rhoemetalkes I, II, and III can be viewed at www.wildwinds.com. See Parissaki 2018 for a recent discussion of the relationships between the Thracian client kingdom and Greek colonies in Thrace.

and Nebet Tepe, seem to have united to some extent by the mid-4th century BC. Writing at this time, Theopompus refers to the site by one name in his account of Philip II's military campaign into Thrace (342 – 340 BC). The name itself *Πονηρόπολις* ("sorry excuse for a city"), which Pliny and Plutarch repeat, most likely does not accurately suggest the quality and quantity of the site's interactions at this time, but it may suggest what Philip and his troops thought. Some archaeological evidence from the 4th – early 2nd century BC has been found on the three main hills, but it says little about the interactions that life at Poneropolis entailed.[24]

According to Theopompus, Philip II took the site, named it Philippopolis, and settled military veterans there, thus introducing Macedonian colonists to its population and old and new inhabitants alike to new ideas and material forms. The existence of *πολιτάρχαι* and the naming of a city tribe (*φυλή*) after a Philip in the 2nd century AD could indicate changes that Philip II made to local administrative practices. At a regional level, Diodorus notes that Philip intended to establish strongholds across Thrace to discourage local rulers, like those of the Odrysae in Philippopolis' case, from exerting influence over northern Aegean Greek colonies.[25]

Philip V intended the same during his Thracian campaigns (185 – 181 BC). He supposedly captured Philippopolis (183/2 BC), which Livy writes had been evacuated by its inhabitants. This seems to indicate that the site's population was not large at this time since its inhabitants can reasonably be expected to have mounted a defense otherwise. Livy further relates that Philip tried to establish a garrison there but that Odrysian forces expelled it. Fragmentary

[24] Theop. *Phil.* f. 107; Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 4.11.41 (*Oppidum sub Rhodope Poneropolis antea, mox a conditore Philippopolis, nunc a situ Trimontium dicta*); Plut. *Mor.* 10.520 B; Bouzek 2005, 83; Delev 2015b, 50; Kesiakova 1999, 7, 9; Popov 2015, 116; Topalilov 2014a, 7; 2012, 2-4; As noted in Valandovski 2015, the largest excavations on Nebet Tepe were conducted 1930 - 1980 by Atanas Peykov, who neither published the excavation results nor left his documentation with Plovdiv's museum.

[25] Diod. Sic. *Bib. Hist.* 16.71.2 (Diodorus uses Theopompus as his source); Bouzek 2005, 81; Delev 2015b, 51; Kesiakova 1999, 9; Nankov 2015, 401-3; Popov 2015, 116-7; Siganidou 1993, 29; Topalilov 2014a, 7; 2012, 3.

remains between Nebet Tebe and Dzhambaz Tepe suggest that Philippopolis had fortifications around when Philip II and V attacked the site, but these remains cannot be clearly dated. In summary, then, little can be said about life at Philippopolis by the early 2nd century BC except that the site seems to have become a small town. Because of its central location, natural defensibility, and access to natural resources, however, Macedonian and Thracian kings deemed the site of strategic value for maintaining regional and interregional connections.[26]

Particularly indicative of Philippopolis becoming more of an interactive hub by Rhoemetalkes I's reign is that it gained its earliest monumental agora at this time. The agora's location in the plain below Philippopolis' three main hills shows that the site's hilltop settlements had continued to expand and grow together from the early 2nd century BC. The agora's nearly square form was laid out at the center of an orthogonal street system. As in its better-known second phase dating to the late 1st century AD, the agora had a central courtyard enclosed by a colonnade, the foundation wall for which was traced on all but the south side (Fig. 19, #5). Small rectangular rooms, most likely shops, were found behind the colonnade on every side. This form was typical for Roman agoras built in the late 1st century BC – early 1st century AD at sites across the Mediterranean, such as at Athens and Delos in the Aegean, at new cities that Augustus founded in Spain, and at cities in 1st century BC Gaul. Thus, the form of Philippopolis' first agora indicates an influx of extra-regional (Thrace) architectural ideas and perhaps architects and craftsmen into the growing town in the late 1st century BC – early 1st century AD.[27]

[26] Livy *Hist.* 39.53.12-14; Polyb. 23.8.1-7; Bouzek 2005, 107-8; Delev 2018, 24; 2015a, 66; Tacheva 2004, 2004; Topalilov 2014a, 6-7; 2012, 3; It is also possible that Philip V named the site, as Topalilov prefers. It is an open question, but Kesiakova suggests a date in the late Hellenistic period for the walls on Nebet and Dzhambaz Tepe. The traditional stance is that Philip II first had fortifications built at the site, even if evidence for this is patchy.

[27] Camp 2001, 192-3, Fig. 187; Dickenson 2012, 199, 222-3; Frakes 2009, 39-66; Ivanov et al. 2004, 290-1; Ivanov 1983, 143; Kesiakova 1999, 11, 13; Martinova-Kyutova and Raycheva 2013, 318; Topalilov 2012, 4-5, 14, 19, 23; 2004, 274, 291; Excavations of Philippopolis' agora, which have continued into the last decade, are not yet fully

Philippopolis' agora and orthogonal streets were likely built with Rhoemetalkes I's patronage. Since rebels besieged Rhoemetalkes II and the *propraetor* Trebellienus Rufus at Philippopolis in 21 AD, it seems that Rhoemetalkes I and his successors were based there.[28] Philippopolis' first agora thus seems to have been built to host increased political activity associated with the kings and their elite companions' administration of Thrace and of the town. The agora's stores also suggest an increase in economic interactions at Philippopolis because of its political significance and geographically central position in the Thracian client kingdom.

As Rhoemetalkes II's struggles with the revolts of 21 and 26 show, the formation of the client kingdom of Thrace did not yield the stability that Rhoemetalkes I's reign had promised. After Rhoemetalkes II's death, his brother Rhaskuporis III and son Kotys VIII feuded over control of Thrace, which resulted in Rhaskuporis murdering Kotys. Tiberius had Rhaskuporis taken prisoner in Moesia and sent into exile; his son Rhoemetalkes II was declared king and placed under Trebellienus' tutelage. It was thus not only the success of the client kingdom as a military partner but also its vulnerability to internal military strife that furthered its enrollment into the Roman Empire. Indeed, it was Rhoemetalkes III's assassination 44 AD in a dynastic struggle that prompted Claudius to annex Thrace as a Roman province in 46 AD.[29]

Thrace's Reorganization into a Roman Province

Even after Thrace became a province, wars in northern Thrace along the Danube continued to further the region's integration into the Roman Empire in the second half of the 1st

published. Theater mask-shaped antefixes remain from the first agora's colonnade. The c. 30 streets that have been discovered across Philippopolis measure between 4.70 and 13.20 m in width.

[28] Tac. *Ann.* 3.38-9; Bouzek 2005, 114; Collart 1937, 252; Zahariade 2009, 57.

[29] Suet. *Claud.* 25; Tac. *Ann.* 2.64-7; Bouzek 2005, 114; Collart 1937, 251-2, 256; Haynes 2011, 7; Ivanov 1983, 129; Lozanov 2015, 76, 79-80; Ruscu 2007, 214; Tacheva 2004, 54-5; Terzopoulou 2018, 111, 117; Topalilov 2012, 4-6; Vanderspoel 2010, 270; Zahariade 2009, 30, 56; Thrace was initially governed by an imperial *procurator* supported by praetors who oversaw the *στρατεγοί*.

century AD. In doing so, these conflicts and their culmination in Trajan's Dacian Wars in particular prompted the foundation of several new settlements and the growth of older ones in the late 1st – early 2nd century AD. These wars thus contributed to the urbanization horizon that occurred across Thrace at this time. After Thrace was designated a province, Dacian incursions into Moesia and Thrace became a more prominent security issue. To meet this challenge, Vespasian stationed three new legions in Moesia (*VII Claudia*, *I Italica*, and *V Alaudae*) and extended its borders to the western Black Sea coast. Dacian incursions sporadically troubled Moesia through the principates of Vespasian and his sons. A particularly successful raid in late 85 AD led to the defeat of Moesia's army under Oppius Sabinus. This setback prompted Domitian to divide Moesia at the western end of the Haemus Mountains into Moesia Superior to the west and Moesia Inferior to the east. Domitian also launched offensives against the Dacian king Decebalus between 87 and 89 AD but made peace when these efforts had limited success.[30]

Roman dissatisfaction with this treaty and a more unified, militarily ready Dacian presence led to Trajan's campaigns north of the Danube (101-2 and 104-6 AD). To ensure the successful establishment of the new Roman province of Dacia, Trajan sought to bolster Moesia and Thrace's defensive capabilities by replacing the *στρατεγοί* system of sub-regional administration in Thrace. Instead, the emperor either founded new urban centers or formally endorsed the development of preexisting communities in the former *στρατεγοί*.[31]

Because of their names or the appearance of "*Ulpia*" in their titles on coins and in civic inscriptions in the 2nd – 3rd century AD, there seem to have been ten Trajanic (re)foundations. These sites were Ulpia Nicopolis ad Istrum in northeastern Thrace, Augusta Traiana (/Beroe) and

[30] Bouzek 2005, 132-3; Haynes 2011, 7-8; Ivanov 1983, 129; Lozanov 2015, 76; Tacheva 2004, 56.

[31] Bouzek 2005, 133-5, 137-8; Haynes 2011, 9-10; Lozanov 2015, 81, 84; Ruscu 2007, 214; Tacheva 2004, 59-60; Tasaklaki 2018, 284-5; Zahariade 2009, 29, 32-3.

Ulpia Anchialos in eastern Thrace, Ulpia Pautalia and Ulpia Serdica in western Thrace, and Ulpia Nicopolis ad Nestum, Ulpia Topeiros, Traianopolis, and Plotinopolis in southern Thrace (Fig. 4). Hadrian furthered Thrace's urbanization when he founded sites like Marcianopolis in northeastern and Hadrianopolis in southeastern Thrace. Sparse excavations at most of these sites makes it unclear if any of them were preexisting settlements. For example, extensive excavations at Nicopolis ad Istrum revealed no evidence of previous activity. Anchialos' role as a *στρατεγός* capital and scattered evidence at Serdica (see below) suggests they were growing settlements by the late 1st century AD. Perhaps the remaining sites were founded amid dispersed villages.[32]

The locations of Nicopolis ad Istrum and Marcianopolis were particularly important for redefining the border between Moesia Inferior and Thrace. After they were founded, Moesia's southern border turned northeast at around the center of the Haemus Mountain range to run eastward along the northern edges of their territories. The border then ran south at the eastern end of the Haemus Mountains until it reached Mesambria's territory (Fig. 4). Septimius Severus later repositioned Moesia Inferior's southern border along the Haemus Mountains, thereby removing Nicopolis ad Istrum and Marcianopolis from Thrace.[33]

The urban development of the sites that controlled the territories of the defunct *στρατεγόι* was vital to the success of Trajan's administrative changes in Thrace. Intended to be

[32] Balabanov 2000, 12; Ivanov 2005, 7, 10, 35, 47, 53; Ivanov 1983, 130; Minchev 2019, 202; Ruscu 2007, 214-5, 218; Tasaklaki 2018, 285; Topalilov 2018, 152, 155; Zahariade 2009, 32-3; Ovid alludes to Anchialos' role as a *στρατεγός* capital when he refers to its tall walls (Ovid *Trist.* 1.10.35: *arta sub Anchiali moenia*).

[33] Gerov 1979; Lozanov 2015, 86; Ruscu 2007, 216, 218-21; Tacheva 2004, 61; Topalilov 2018; The exact size of Nicopolis' territory and so the course of Moesia's new southern border is debated. As B. Gerov conceived of the traditionally accepted border on the basis of milestones and other epigraphic evidence, it turned c. 20 km north of Nicopolis to run more or less directly east until turning south at Marcianopolis. Reviving V. Velkov's 1987 argument, Ligia Ruscu uses similar evidence and historical considerations to assert that Nicopolis' territory instead ran close to the Danube between Novae and Sexaginta Prista. Ruscu's position relies heavily on the idea that the city's name meant that its territory had to run close to the Danube. As Topalilov notes, however, "ad Istrum" was likely only a commemorative addendum in honor of Hadrian and Marcius Turbo's victories against the Sarmatians along the Danube in 118 AD. Thus, Moesia Inferior's traditional southern border is accepted here.

administered like Greek *πόλεις*, Trajan's (re)foundations did not grant special legal rights but were instead formal endorsements of these sites as hubs for all kinds of interactions. Unlike the earlier *στρατεγοί* capitals, they were meant to be fixed political centers where larger communities of local and transplanted elites could develop. These cities-to-be and their territories were also meant to provide supplies and legionary and auxiliary recruits to armies passing through Thrace. Moreover, these sites would have been expected to become focal points for craft activity and markets that involved the participation of local and foreign producers and traders.

That local urban network expansion was the goal for Trajan's new foundations is demonstrated by what is known about the architectural development of Serdica and Nicopolis ad Istrum over the next few decades. It was as part of building campaigns in the third quarter of the 2nd century AD that *odea* were constructed in both urban landscapes, as is discussed below. Overall, the local networks that Trajan founded or bolstered across Thrace constituted the most significant effect that Rome's frequent wars with Thrace's neighbors had on the region after it became a Roman province. Moreover, the expansion of these sites into cities in the second quarter of the 2nd century AD was a vital aspect of the urbanization horizon that also marked how already significant urban center like Philippopolis had become cities by the late 1st century AD.[34]

Formal and Informal Colonization in Roman Thrace

As a means of further integrating Thrace into the Roman Empire, Trajan's (re)foundation of sites across the region like Serdica, Augusta Traiana, and Nicopolis ad Istrum was related to earlier emperors' foundation of formal colonies and encouragement of informal ones. Two formal colonies were founded in Thrace: one by Claudius at Apri (*Colonia Claudia Aprensis*) in southeastern Thrace (45 AD) and the other by Vespasian for veterans of *legio VIII Augusta* at

[34] Bouzek 2005, 137-8; Tasaklaki 2018, 284-5; Zahariade 2009, 32-3.

Deultum (*Colonia Flavia Pacis Deultensium*) at the middle of the western Black Sea coast (c. 70 AD; Fig. 4). Apri has not been excavated, but there have been sporadic systematic excavations at Deultum since 1980; the results of this archaeological work, however, are largely unpublished.[35]

Apri and Deultum were most likely important contributors to Thrace's greater involvement in a Roman imperial network and to the expansion of interactions at and among sites in their territories. More significant in these regards would have been Roman emperors' encouragement of auxiliary and legionary veteran settlement at many other sites. This informal colonization seemingly began around the mid-1st century AD when Thracian cavalry and infantry auxiliaries started returning to settlements across Thrace. After they were discharged from service in the second half of the 1st century AD, non-Thracian legionary veterans who had served in Moesia also began settling across the new province. Veteran settlement became more common in the 2nd century AD because of the regular recruitment of Thracians for auxiliary, legionary, and praetorian units and the perennial need to maintain garrisons like Oescus, Novae, Sexaginta Prista, and Durostorum along the Danube (Fig. 4).[36] All these veterans would have brought with them ideas and objects from other parts of the Empire, such as Roman military training and imperial coinage, that would have been new to Thrace in kind, form, or quantity.

Two grave markers for auxiliaries from Serdica who died overseas in the mid-1st century AD suggest examples of the extra-regional places from which Thracian veterans brought new material actors. One deceased was an infantryman from *cohors IIII Thracum Syriaca* named

[35] Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 4.19 (*deultum…veteranorum…a colonia apro*); Balabanov 2011, 107; Collart 1937, 257; Haynes 2011, 8; Lozanov 2015, 85; Paunov 2015, 277; Tacheva 2004, 63; Topalilov 2013, 185; Vagalinski 2018, 85; The only summary of the archaeological finds from Deultum is the booklet "Archaeological Reserve 'Deultum Debelt'" published in English by the municipality of Sredets with the financial aid of the American Research Center in Sofia.

[36] Boyanov 2013, 237, 240-2; Bouzek 2005, 138; Haynes 2011, 8, 12; Zahariade 2009, 33; As Boyanov notes for Serdica, although explicit epigraphic evidence for Thracian legionaries from some sites may be rare, any Thracians who served as praetorians would have been selected from among the legions. He also mentions how there is little epigraphic evidence for the settlement in Thrace of veteran auxiliaries originally from other parts of the Empire.

Fuscus Dorilsis, son of Eptaecentus; his Latinate first name suggests he was a Roman citizen. From the tribe of the Serdi (*domo Serdus*), he died at 25 when he was stationed near Astorga, Spain, where his grave marker was found. The name of his cohort and the note that he had belonged to it for nine years (*aereorum VIIII*) may mean that he also served for a time in Syria.[37]

The other deceased was the cavalryman (*ala I Thracum*) and *duplicarius* Longinus Sdapese, son of Matygus, who died at the age of 40 at Colchester in Britain. He had been recruited from *pagus Sardi* 15 years before his death, which has been dated to around the early 50s AD, so he likely was assigned to *ala I Thracum* when it was posted in Germany (30s – 43 AD). His position in a cavalry unit means he was an elite, which upholds the idea that his Latinate name signifies he had Roman citizenship. Fuscus and Longinus' recruitment suggests that their home had grown into a significant population center by the early 1st century AD.[38]

Veteran Settlement at Serdica

Serdica (below modern Sofia) was located in a valley at the foot of the Haemus mountains in northeastern Thrace (Figs. 1, 4). The site was named after the Serdi, a group of people about which little is known. Past scholars have posited both that they were native Thracians and that they were related to the Celts and moved with them from the area of modern Serbia into Thrace in the early 3rd century BC. Stefan Boyadjiev reported that walls from an earlier settlement were found in his excavations at the center of Roman Serdica (1948-56). As Nadezhda Kirova notes, however, these excavations' documentation does not support

[37] *AE* 1928, 165; HD 023818; *ILER* 6417; Zahariade 2009, 67-8, 74, 346, Pl. XI 39; *Fuscus Dori / lsis Eptaece / nti f(ilius) miles exs / cohort T(h)rac / um | (centuria) Iul(ii) Martial(is) / dom(o) Serdus an(norum) / XXV aer(eorum) VIIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st).* Zahariade asserts that Fuscus' centurion Iulius Martialis was also from Serdica, but his name seems to suggest that he was from somewhere in the western Mediterranean instead.

[38] *RIB* 201; Boyanov 2013, 239-40; Zahariade 2009, 65, 74, 329, Pl. II 4; *Longinus Sdapese / matygi duplicarius / ala prima T[hr]acum pago / Sardi anno(rum) XL aeror(um) XV / heredes exs testam(ento) f(aciendum) . c(uravit) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st).*

Boyadjiev's remarks. Moreover, excavations over the past decade directly west of this area and a short distance to the northeast have also not found evidence for a previous settlement.[39]

Instead, scattered evidence dated generally to the 3rd – 1st centuries BC suggests that small communities existed around Serdica before the town was established. Little can be said about these settlements, and it cannot be confirmed that their inhabitants were the Serdi. These settlements' populations, however, were most likely drawn to the area for its accessible mountain pass and mineral springs. It is therefore unclear what interactions these communities may have had with the Kingdom of Macedon or known Thracian kingdoms. Philip II's and V's armies would have passed close to these settlements since the Struma river valley directly south of Serdica's territory was the most navigable route between Macedonia and Thrace. Serdica's nearby mountain pass and mineral springs suggest why the Roman Senate and emperors had a vested interest in encouraging settlement here in the 1st century AD.[40]

The use of *pagus* in Longinus Sdapese's funerary inscription likely means that "Serdica" still largely consisted of dispersed, lightly urban settlements by the early 1st century AD. It also covers the possibility that an urban center had begun to emerge near later Ulpia Serdica. Although Fuscus and Longinus did not return home, other recruits from among the Serdi would have. They would have brought back with them novel ideas and objects from the provinces where they served, like Britain, Spain, and Syria. They thereby would have been able to contribute to a greater diversity of interactions in the area of their emerging town and to promote cooperation with Thrace's provincial administration at the same time.

[39] Bouzek 2005, 105; Kirova 2012, 201, 204; Popov 2015, 121; These excavations included the areas of the Bulgarian Communist Party's headquarters (now the parliament building) and the Ministry of the President and the Balkan (later Sheraton) Hotel, where Boyadjiev reports to have found signs of a Thracian settlement.

[40] Kirova 2012, 201, 204.

Supporting this idea and the possibility that veteran settlement even catalyzed Serdica's urbanization in the mid to late 1st century AD are results from the 2010-11 excavations in the eastern-central portion of Ulpia Serdica. In the lowest settlement layer under the Serdika II metro station (Fig. 20, #22) was found a collapsed timber and clay wall. The imperial Roman coins, imported Italian and Gaulish *terra sigillata*, glass vessels, and fibulae found around the wall indicate a date in the mid – late 1st century AD. The foreign origins of the artifacts in this assemblage led the excavations' director Mario Ivanov to suggest that this evidence shows a concentration of non-Thracians at Serdica, which is plausible. He more tentatively suggests that this evidence could mean "that a military contingent took part in the establishment of *Serdica*."[41]

Ivanov is certainly right that further archaeological evidence is needed to support this idea. The evidence uncovered in the excavations he directed does not necessarily indicate military human actors. Moreover, since the aforementioned imported goods arrived at Serdica after Thrace became a *provincia inermis*, it does not seem plausible that an active contingent of legionaries from the Roman Empire's western provinces helped to establish Serdica. Claudius' and Vespasian's veteran colonies, however, do make it plausible that the evidence from the Serdika II metro station excavations suggests that a fair number of legionary veterans from western provinces settled at the site of Serdica and so helped to establish an urban center there. Indeed, encouraging these legionary veterans to settle at a particular point in the Serdi's territory in the mid to late 1st century AD would have helped Roman emperors to ensure control over the northwestern portion of the new province of Thrace.

Ivanov does not state that Serdi auxiliaries could have been consumers of the kinds of goods his excavations discovered and so among the soldiers who may have founded Serdica, but

[41] Ivanov 2013, 153; 2011, 8-9; Ivanov does not clarify what he means by "military contingent."

this should not be ruled out. One such auxiliary may be the *cornicularius* T. Flavius Tarsas, who dedicated a monument to Dionysos found on Sofia's northeastern outskirts. The auxiliary's first two names indicate a late 1st century AD date for his inscription and reception of Roman citizenship under the Flavian emperors while his last name indicates his Thracian origin.[42]

It is possible, then, that legionary and auxiliary veterans were a sizeable portion of the growing population at Serdica that catalyzed its urbanization in the late 1st – early 2nd century AD. Inspired by recent experiences with urban landscapes outside of Thrace, these veterans could have become significant advocates for the monumental construction projects that marked Serdica's transformation into a city at this time. These projects most notably included a grid of streets and public buildings like a *bouleuterium* and led Serdica's urban landscape to develop according to the same basic ideas of community organization that were then at work (with considerably varied architectural results) in cities across the Roman Empire.[43] Like T. Flavius Tarsas' inscription, inscriptions from across Serdica that record the names of veterans who lived there in the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD do not note local offices or priesthoods. This evidence thus suggests that veterans who settled at Serdica in the late 1st – early 3rd century AD helped to shape urban life through their private influence as it was bolstered by their Roman citizenship.[44]

Veteran Settlement at Philippopolis

Epigraphic evidence from Philippopolis suggests that it too was a common location for informal veteran settlement beginning in the second half of the 1st but primarily in the 2nd – early

[42] *IGBulg* IV 2022; Boyanov 2013, 238, 240-1; Kirova 2012, 204; *Διονύσῳ / .αταλδε- / [.]ουηνῳ / Τ(ίτος) Φλ(άβιος) Ταρσας / κορνικ[ου]- / λά[ριος –] / [– – –].* The monument was found at modern Kostinbrod.

[43] Ivanov 2011, 8-9; Kirova 2012, 211-3; Minchev 2019, 208; Many of these ideas of community organization (e.g. grid planning) of course were familiar to the Serdi since they had long been exhibited by Greek colonies in Thrace.

[44] Boyanov 2013, 238, 247; For the seemingly non-Thracian veteran praetorians *Π(όπλιος) Αἴ(λιος) Ἰουλιανὸς* and M(arcus) Aur(elius) Iulius, and the Thracian auxiliary veteran (of the *ala I Asturum*) M(arcus) Aurelius Teres see also *IGBulg* IV, 2023; Gerov 1969, # 95; and Gerov 1969, # 64, respectively.

3rd century AD. Veterans not originally from Philippopolis or its territory would have been drawn to the site because it was the largest urban center in inner Thrace in the second half of the 1st century AD. Likely echoing the thoughts of other Roman elites at the time, Pliny the Elder counted it as the only significant urban center in inner Thrace since he mentions no other when he describes the province. He also mentions the new administrative name, Trimontium, that Philippopolis received after Thrace became a province.[45]

Two inscriptions found at Philippopolis and dated to the latter half of the 1st century AD suggest that a fair number of legionary veterans settled at the city and in its territory at this time. They also indicate that some of these settlers were originally from nearby eastern provinces. The earlier one, which dates to the third quarter of the 1st century AD, is inscribed in Latin on a grave marker for C. Iulius Gratus, who was a veteran of *cohors V praetoria* and from Berytus (*domo Beryto*) in Syria. Another C. Iulius Gratus, the other Gratus' *heres* and a veteran of *legio IV Scythica*, was the dedicator and perhaps also Syrian in origin.[46] The second inscription notes it was commissioned when Vespasian was consul for the seventh time and so can be dated to 76 AD. Containing Latin and Greek, it dedicates a votive table to the eastern god *Μηδύζις*. The dedicator identifies himself in Latin as C. Minutius Laetus, a veteran of *legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis*, but also in Greek as *Ἀντιοχός*, which suggests he originated in an eastern province.[47]

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[45] Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 4.11.41; Haynes 2011, 9; Kesiakova 1999, 9, 13; Topalilov 2018, 154; 2012, 3-4, 6-7; "Philippopolis" remained the preferred name, but "Trimontium" is occasionally attested in Latin on *laterculi praetorianorum*, military diplomas, and funerary inscriptions. Examples of the funerary inscriptions on which *Trimontium* is used include *CIL* VI, 32523 and XVI, 139.

[46] *AE* 2001, 1750; HD 043956; Topalilov 2012, 6; *C(aius) Iulius Gratus / vet(eranus) coh(ortis) V prae(toriae) / vixit ann(os) XXXX / mil(itavit) ann(os) XX do / mo Beryto / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / C(aius) Iulius Gratus / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) IIII Scyt(hicae) / heres faciend / um curavit.* The Epigraphic Database Heidelberg dates this inscription in the first half of the 1st century AD, but I have followed Topalilov who, in turn following Gerasimova and Martinova 1994, suggests a date in the time of Nero or Vespasian.

[47] *AE* 1902, 140; *CIL* III, 6120; HD 032025; *IGBulg* III,1 1410; Topalilov 2018, 154; 2012, 7; *Deo Μηδυζει mensam / C(aius) Minutius Laetus vet(e)ran(us) / leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelils) pro se et suis / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) / Imp(eratore) Vespasiano VII co(n)s(ule) // Ἀντιοχέος τῆς πρὸς Δάφνην / τόδε δῶρον.*

Both inscribed objects already suggest ways by which the second Gratus and Laetus contributed to an increased number of possible interactions at Philippopolis. Both men, for example, encouraged Latin's use in written and perhaps spoken contexts.[48] Gratus' grave marker further promoted inscribed monuments as a desirable avenue for commemoration at Philippopolis. This means the expansion of interactions involved in stone supply chains and craft specialization in stone-carving workshops. Laetus' dedication highlighted Philippopolis as a center for religious interactions and at least for a short time added a new deity to the city's cults. Gratus and Laetus likely contributed further to the growth of their adoptive urban landscape at the turn of the 2nd century AD. Their families' participation in Philippopolis' urban life in similar ways at the same time and afterwards would have furthered this expansion.

Legionary veterans settled at Philippopolis throughout the 2nd century AD. This is shown, for example, by the grave marker of a veteran of *legio I Italica*, C. Caelius Annius Maximus, that has been dated to the century's second quarter. His origin is noted as Hadrianopolis (*domo Hadrianopoli*), which may have been the site that Hadrian founded in Thrace or one of the several other cities with the same name in the Empire's eastern provinces. In either case, the lack of a Thracian cognomen suggests that Caelius Annius was not Thracian.[49] An inscription dedicated by Philippopolis' city council and people and dated to around the same time honors L. Cassius Severus, prefect of the *cohors IV Thracum* and a procurator of Macedonia and Thrace. His past command of Thracian forces and leadership position in Thrace would have given him

[48] It is worth noting here that, given the long-standing ties among Thracian and Greek communities across Thrace, by the late 1st century AD many elite and non-elite Thracians alike would have understood, spoke, and wrote and read Greek to some extent. In larger settlements, then, and especially in the emerging cities that came to host large numbers of immigrants from neighboring eastern provinces in the Empire, Greek would have been the common language for communication among people who otherwise spoke a variety of Thracian dialects and other languages. The same of course holds true for Macedonia and provinces east of Thrace in the 1st century AD.

[49] HD 043010; Kalinka 1906, 322, #409; *C(aius) Cael(ius) a[n]/ nius m[ax]/ imus mi[l(es)] / leg(ionis) I ital(icae) / dom(o) ha[d(rianopoli)] / h(ic) s(itus) e(st).*

plenty of reason to settle in and be a benefactor to Philippopolis.[50] These two monuments represent the same kinds of contributions to Philippopolis' urban development as those already noted for the grave marker commissioned by the legionary veteran Gratus in the 1st century AD.

As Topalilov writes, there is no explicit epigraphic evidence for legionary veterans holding public office in Philippopolis. Therefore, like the veterans at Serdica, they seem to have participated in the expansion of local political interactions as private citizens. Topalilov suggests that legionary veterans did not feel compelled to hold public office because they had influence in the civic decision-making process that essentially placed their authority on par with that of Philippopolis' elected officials. This would have been because of their Roman citizenship and fair degree of personal wealth. The latter was made possible by their military salaries and, at the end of their service, grants of fairly sizeable land plots (or of sufficient funds to purchase them) and financial benefits such as freedom from certain taxes and mandatory civic benefactions.[51]

While Topalilov is likely correct that the legionary veterans who settled at Philippopolis were fairly influential in local affairs for these reasons, he likely overstates the extent of their socio-economic distinctiveness. As Ilian Boyanov points out when discussing Serdica's legionary veterans, their wealth and land allotments depended on rank. If a legionary did not advance far or become a praetorian, his regular salary would not have been drastically higher than what some Thracian non-elites could have earned in their jobs, as small landowners for example. Additionally, his land allotment of around 50 *iugera* would have been around the same size as the plots farmed by Thracian small landowners in Serdica and Philippopolis' hinterlands.

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[50] *AE* 1993, 1382; *IGBulg* V 5410; Martinova-Kyutova and Sharankov 2018, 71; *[Ἡ] βουλὴ κ[αὶ ὁ δῆμος] / Λ(ούκιον) · Κάσσιον · Λ(ουκίου) · υ(ἱὸν) · Κυρ(είνα) · Σεουῆρον / ἔπαρχον σπείρης · δ Θρᾳ- / κ<ῶ>ν ἐπίτροπον · τοῦ Σε- / βαστοῦ · Μακεδονίας / καὶ Θρᾴκης · ἔπαρχον / [στ]όλου · τοῦ ἐν Ῥαου- / [ή]νῃ · ἀρετῆς χάριν.* Originally this inscription was dated to the principate of Septimius Severus, but its lettering and mention of the *cohors IV Thracum*, which is not attested after the principate of Antoninus Pius, suggest a date earlier in the 2nd century AD.

[51] Boyanov 2013, 243, 246; Topalilov 2013, 185-6, 191-4.

Thus, the financial means of most legionary veterans in Thrace most likely did not make them elites, as Topalilov suggests. Instead, when taken together with the veterans' Roman citizenship and legal benefits, it would have placed them more around the middle of the social hierarchy at Philippopolis and other emerging cities across Thrace.[52]

Auxiliary veterans and their descendants are more commonly attested in Philippopolis' epigraphic evidence. On the basis of onomastics, this evidence intimates that these auxiliaries were primarily of Thracian origin. The same evidence also seems to indicate that, like the legionary veterans at Philippopolis, auxiliary veterans and their families were among the city's fairly well-off and influential inhabitants. Generally speaking, low-ranking, infantry auxiliary veterans would have received less financial compensation for their service than their legionary veteran counterparts. However, their salaries, retirement packages, and reception of Roman citizenship still would have garnered a respectable enough place in the local hierarchy. Those auxiliary veterans who appear in Philippopolis' inscriptions seem to have secured a place near the top of this hierarchy through a combination of having served in higher paying postings in the *alae*, likely owning inherited lands in Thrace, and holding public office.[53]

Auxiliary veterans, some likely of Thracian origin, seem to have held public office as members of Philippopolis' city council. One example is the later 2nd – early 3rd century AD *βουλευτής* [*Αἴλιος (?)] Κέλσο[ς]*, whose cognomen could indicate an origin in Thrace or in neighboring Greece or Asia Minor. Found in the area of Diocletianopolis, the inscription that honors Celsus also suggests that he would have contributed to the growth of interactions at this

[52] Boyanov 2013, 243, 246-8; Topalilov 2013, 185.

[53] Boyanov 2013, 240, 247; Topalilov 2013, 186.

site (e.g. through trade or euergetism).[54] A Gemellus who was on Philippopolis' city council in the 2nd century AD was likely the son of an auxiliary veteran who was also named Gemellus.[55] Another example of a councilman who was likely the son of an auxiliary veteran and perhaps a veteran himself is Aurelius Asklepiodotos, son of Aelius Julianus. Aurelius is commemorated on his statue base as both a *βουλευτὴς* and a member of the council of elders (*γερουστιαστής*).[56]

Topalilov suggests that, unlike Philippopolis' legionary veterans, auxiliary veterans such as Celsus, Gemellus, and Aurelius Asklepiodotos took up public office to gain political influence that they did not as readily have as private citizens. As has been noted, however, it is likely that legionary veterans were generally not so different from their auxiliary comrades-at-arms in terms of financial means and local renown. Thus, perhaps these auxiliary veterans held public office more because they were driven by affinity for their homeland of Thrace to become involved in local administration.[57] In these positions they would have formally promoted Philippopolis' cooperation with Roman provincial administration while maintaining the importance to local urban life of a hierarchy based on wealth, office-holding, legal status, etc.

In summary, then, epigraphic and possible small find evidence for the settlement of legionary and auxiliary veterans at Philippopolis and Serdica in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD suggests that this informal colonization contributed to the emergence of complex urban landscapes across Thrace in a few ways. Firstly, together with the two formal colonies at Apri

[54] *IGBulg* III,1 1478; Topalilov 2013, 188, 191; The inscription also notes a *Κέλσσος Μακεσάτος* and a *Νέανδρος* as dedicators (*ἔστησε* and *ἀνέστ[ησε]*, respectively).

[55] *IGBulg* III,1 1123; Topalilov 2013, 188, 191; *[– – – –Γέ]-/ μελλος Γεμέλ-/ λου βουλ(ευτὴς) τὸ ἄ-/ γαλμα ἀνέθη-/ κεν*; Topalilov notes that the name Gemellus was popularly adopted by soldiers, particularly those who came from Numidia and Africa Proconsularis.

[56] *IGBulg* V 5463; III,1 1150, 1151; *SEG* 49:908; Topalilov 2013, 188-9, 193.

[57] Topalilov 2013, 192.

and Deultum, Roman imperial administration's encouragement of veteran settlement in Thrace contributed new human actors with origins in the Empire's western and eastern provinces. Secondly, in their increasingly urban landscapes, these foreign transplants and Thracian auxiliary veterans who returned home likely helped to promote new practices such as more frequent epigraphic commemoration, the use of Latin in honorific and civic dedications, and the larger presence in everyday life of foreign goods such as Roman coinage and fineware imported from eastern and western provinces. Veterans thereby would have helped to promote their local urban networks' participation in Empire-wide cultural and economic trends. Thirdly, influential because of their wealth, Roman citizenship, and local political roles, legionary and auxiliary veterans promoted the importance to local urban life of a social hierarchy and of cooperation with Roman provincial administration. Thus, like Rome's wars along the Danube in the 1st – early 2nd century AD, formal and informal veteran settlement across Thrace was seemingly vital for the substantial growth of urban centers and for Thrace's integration into the Roman Empire.

The Roman Coopting of Roadways in Thrace

The movement of Roman armies and the settlement of veterans across Thrace were made possible by Roman administrators coopting the region's major roadways beginning in the late 2nd century BC. This is the third main process by which Thrace became enrolled into the Roman Empire. For the varyingly urbanized local networks along them, these roads were steady sources for many new people, ideas, and objects from the Roman Empire's western and eastern provinces. Examples of these new human and non-human actors have already been covered: Roman legions and governors from Macedonia, legionary and auxiliary veterans, Roman citizenship, Roman coinage, fineware vessels from Italy and Gaul, and architectural features that Thracians had encountered before in Greek colonies but had become characteristic of Roman

urbanism (e.g. Philippopolis' agora). The higher traffic along Thrace's roads that Roman control occasioned thus made possible the urbanization horizon that marked how several of the province's urban centers had become cities by the late 1st – early 2nd century AD.

The most important roads in Thrace were the Via Egnatia on the northern coast of the Aegean Sea and the road that ran from northwestern through central Thrace to the Hellespont and the end of the Via Egnatia, which scholars call the Via Diagonalis (Fig. 4). These roads were also connected by another that ran north from the Aegean coast through the Struma Valley. Close behind these three roads in importance were one that split from the Via Diagonalis in central Thrace to run eastward to the western Black Sea coast and another that followed this coast and served the Greek colonies along it. Equally important to these roads would have been the one that linked the military forts and a few settlements along the Danube. By a route that passed Nicopolis ad Istrum and Marcianopolis, it would have joined the north – south road along the Black Sea at Odessos, which was a vital port for the reinforcement and resupply of the army on the Danube. Passes in the Haemus mountains also connected this military road to others in central Thrace; one pass ran between Novae and Philippopolis, for example.[58]

Since it mostly passed through Macedonia and ended in the small portion of southeastern Thrace that the Roman Senate inherited from Pergamon, the Via Egnatia was the first road the Romans coopted in Thrace in the late 2nd century BC. It would have been as important a driver of new urban interactions at the urban centers along its course in Aegean Thrace as it was at those in Macedonia. Unfortunately, archaeological evidence for the specific forms this mediation took is sparse due to the lack of systematic excavations at nearly all these sites.

[58] Haynes 2011, 8; Ivanov 2005, 7; Minchev 2011, 23; Ruscu 2007, 222; Topalilov 2012, 4.

One of the first cities along the Via Egnatia's way west from Philippi was Maroneia. Epigraphic evidence hints as to how the Greek colony grew in response to increased Roman administrative control of the road. For example, a marble altar found at the site and bearing the inscription *Διὸς/ καὶ Ῥώ-/ μης* shows that, as at Thessalonica, the cult of Zeus and Roma had followers in the city in the late 2nd century BC. The altar manifests the expansion of religious interactions at Maroneia to include deities that were closely identified with Rome. Since the altar's dedicator was likely a local elite, it also manifests the political dialogue between Maroneia's local autonomy and Rome's regional hegemony.[59]

Providing a glimpse into political interactions between Maroneia and Rome in the 1st century AD is the aforementioned inscription from Samothrace that records how the city renewed their alliance with Rome with Emperor Claudius. Identified after the city's councilmen, priests, and magistrates (*Γνώμη βουλευτῶν καὶ ἱερέων καὶ ἀρχόντων*) as guarantors of the inscription's decree are the Romans who live in the city (*Ῥωμαίω[ν τῶν]/ [τ]ὴν πόλιν κατοικούντων*). This indicates not only that a significant number of Roman citizens had travelled the Via Egnatia to settle at Maroneia but also that they were informal ambassadors for Rome and perhaps held local voting rights. The decree's preamble notes that it was preceded by an embassy from Maroneia to Claudius. The decree concerns establishing a formal procedure for designating future embassies to Rome. Thus, the inscription reveals that official embassies periodically travelled between Maroneia and Rome on the Via Egnatia in the 1st century AD and likely in the preceding and following century as well. That the road carried delegations from other Greek colonies in Aegean Thrace is indicated by two *senatus consulta* inscribed on walls in Thasos'

[59] *IThrAeg* E 187; *SEG* 24.636; Terzopoulou 2018, 114; This dialogue continued long afterwards and in the 2nd century AD was displayed on inscribed monuments dedicated to Zeus, Roma, Dionysos, and Maroneia's mythical founder Maron. For dedications to Zeus, Roma, Dionysos, and Maron see *IThrAeg* E 188-198.

agora between 80 and 78 BC. The first notes an appeal of Thasos' ambassadors for a renewal of their city's alliance with Rome while the second mentions embassies from Thasos and Abdera.[60]

Other cities that grew up along the Via Egnatia's eastern end include one of Trajan's foundations Traianopoilis; Apri, Claudius' little-known veteran colony; and Thrace's provincial capital Perinthos (Fig. 4). As important as Perinthus was to Thrace, a glaring lack of excavations at the site means that much about life there during its nearly 2,000 year-long history is unclear. Some information about life at Perinthus between the 1st and 6th century AD can be gleaned from literary references and epigraphic evidence, which Mustafa Sayar covers extensively in his book. Perinthus' location at the junction of the Viae Egnatia and Diagonalis and the western Black Sea coastal road and on a peninsula in the middle of the northern coast of the Propontis made it a natural crossroads between Thrace and Asia. This explains why it was chosen as Thrace's provincial capital. Many new human and non-human actors would have dispersed westward to settlements across Thrace through Perinthus. This in turn means that the same actors and others from regions west and north of Thrace would have mixed at Perinthus to produce a complex urban landscape. Partially known examples of the monuments that displayed and drove this complexity include city walls, a bath complex, a theater, and a stadium.[61]

The Via Diagonalis – Serdica

While Perinthus was at one end of the Via Diagonalis, Serdica was the city that emerged on its opposite end in northwestern Thrace. There the mountain pass that marked the beginning of the Via allowed for travel diagonally into Thrace from Moesia Superior (Fig. 4). Travelers

[60] *SEG* 18.349; 41.718; Clinton 2003, 379-84, 386-7; Parissaki 2018, 35; Terzopoulou 2018, 115-6; Wörrle 2004.

[61] Lolos 2009, 269-70; Sayar 1998, 59-60, 67-8, 71, 79-80; Sharankov 2005a, 60; Perinthus was founded as a colony by the Samians in 602 BC (Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 57; Strabo *Geogr.* 7, fr. 55) and was inhabitated until the Genoese destroyed the site in 1351 AD (Nik. Greg. *Hist. Rhom.* 26.12-14; Joh. Kant. *Hist.* 4.28-9).

could also make their way north through the Haemus Mountains into Moesia Inferior or south through the Struma Valley into Macedonia. The foundation of Ulpia Serdica as an urban center directly on the Via Diagonalis would have afforded the people of the area's former settlements better access to the people and resources that passed through northwestern Thrace. This lends credence to Ivanov's idea that an emperor encouraged a large group of legionary veterans to help found a centralized Serdica in the second half of the 1st century AD.[62]

The Via Diagonalis then played a significant role in the new town's rapid growth in the late 1st – early 2nd century AD. The Serdi and other Thracians already in the area would have been major participants in the interactions that led to this growth and its monumental manifestations. The foreign elements that arrived along the road also would have been significantly influential for the new interactive possibilities they offered. Foreign settlers were likely attracted to the city for its location in the foothills of the Haemus Mountains amid natural springs. There are also the consumer goods from Italy and Gaul that were found in the Serdika II metro excavations. While legionary and auxiliary veterans may have played a role in bringing the first such goods to Serdica, later traders would have brough greater quantities of these goods and others from different parts of the Roman Empire. The orthogonal streets and monumental architecture that were built at Serdica beginning in the early 2nd century AD also mean that ideas of community organization were changing at the site, seemingly with the significant encouragement of extra-regional settlers. Indeed, these projects could have entailed the assistance of craftsmen and architects who originated outside of Thrace.

[62] Kirova 2012, 199, 204; Madjarov 1990 (See Fig. 4, p. 20 in particular).

The Via Diagonalis - Philippopolis

From Serdica, the Via Diagonalis continued southeast and ran through Philippopolis. From Philippopolis, secondary roads led west to the route that ran between Serdica and the Struma Valley, north through the Haemus Mountains to Oescus, south to Nicopolis ad Nestum and the Via Egnatia, and east to the western Black Sea coastal route. Thus, as in the days of Philip II, under Roman control Philippopolis' strategic location in central Thrace continued to attract travelers who crossed the region. This crossroads position thereby readily invited various people, and the equally varied objects and ideas they carried, to make a mark on the city.[63]

This has already been noted through the examples of Philippopolis' first monumental agora and orthogonal street system. These arose in the early 1st century AD when the town's leaders – most likely with Rhoemetalkes I – employed architectural forms characteristic of Roman urbanism to shape the urban landscape so it could better host political and economic interactions. They seemingly did so with Roman administrative guidance (like that of Trebellianus Rufus) and perhaps with the aid of architects from nearby Roman provinces. In the agora's stores, merchants most likely sold a variety of goods from these provinces and ones further afield that were brought along the roads that intersected at the town. The Italian and Gaulish terra sigillata, glass vessels, and fibulae that were found in the Serdika II metro station excavations are likely examples of the kinds of such goods. The legionary and auxiliary veterans of Thracian or other origins who were induced by Philippopolis' central location in Thrace to settle there were also able to make a mark on the site's urban landscape.

By the end of the 1st century AD, Philippopolis' prominent location at the center of the Via Diagonalis had catalyzed the emergence of a city that rivaled the provincial capital Perinthus

[63] Madjarov 1990 (See Fig. 4, p. 20 in particular); Topalilov 2012, 5.

in the number and diversity of its interactions. This is reflected in the Roman emperor and senate's decision to declare the site a metropolis. Two late 1st century AD statue bases that were originally in the city's theater help to date the grant of this regional distinction. One of the bases commemorates Ti. Claudius Sacerdos Iulianus – an Italian judging by his name and position as Thrace's *procurator* – as a "benefactor of the metropolis" (*τὸν εὐεργέτην τῆς μητροπόλεως*). Another base honors T. Flavius Kotys – whose name indicates he was a Thracian with Roman citizenship – as a "legal representative of the metropolis" (*ἔγδικον τῆς μητροπόλεως*). Moreover, Domitian granting the city permission to mint bronze coins c. 88 AD most likely coincided with and advertised the city's new status. Philippopolis' growth into a metropolis by the late 1st – early 2nd century AD is more boldly conveyed by the large-scale building projects that transformed its landscape at this time, which included the theater, stadium, and *bouletuerium*.[64]

The Via Diagonalis – Diocletianopolis

The site that became Diocletianopolis in the late 3rd century AD was north of Philippopolis and 10 km east of the road that led between this city and Oescus (Fig. 4). It was thus not in a particularly strategic position to immediately merit Roman administrative attention in the 1st century AD like Philippopolis, Serdica, and Augusta Traiana. It later received such recognition and a new name in Diocletian's administrative reform of the Roman Empire's provinces, which explains why it gained its amphitheater at this time. By the late 1st century AD, however, Diocletianopolis was a small town. It had developed out of a Thracian settlement that

[64] Sharankov 2005a, 55, 57; 2005b, 235, 241-2; Topalilov 2018, 155-6; 2011, 25; No inscriptions have been found that refer to Perinthus as a metropolis, although it probably had achieved this urban status around the same time as Philippopolis. The statue bases mentioned here were later reused in Late Antique staircases at the front corners of the same building's *proscaenium*. (These monuments' inscriptions, the reasons for their dating, and how they arose from the theater's mediation as an urban network actor are discussed further in Chapter Six). See http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/thrace/philippopolis/i.html for the coins minted at Philippopolis in the principate of Domitian; they do not explicitly label the city as a metropolis.

had been growing at the site since the early 2nd century BC. The main reason for life at Diocletianopolis was the mineral springs there, which began to attract more diverse inhabitants and visitors soon after Thrace became a Roman province. Hinting at this diversity are the finds of coins of Rhoemetalkes I, Nero, Vespasian, and Nerva from across the site.[65]

That Diocletianopolis gained renown as a resort town in the 1st – 3rd century AD is seen in the construction of four public baths there toward the end of this period of time. The largest of these is the bathing complex built in the central-eastern portion of the site in the second half of the 3rd century AD (Fig. 21). The emergence of these bathing facilities makes the most sense if it was preceded by regular, high-volume use of the site's springs in less structurally-articulated ways in the two preceding centuries. Thus, as Constantin Madjarov concludes, the continuation and later rapid expansion of Diocletianopolis as an urban center in Roman Thrace seem to have been closely tied to the regionally accepted hydrotherapeutic properties of its springs.[66]

The Via Diagonalis – Augusta Traiana

This study's fourth main site in Thrace Augusta Traiana began as the settlement Beroe, which like Diocletianopolis was located in the foothills of the Haemus mountains with a plain to the south. Beroe was nearly centrally positioned on the road from Philippopolis to the western Black Sea. This road continued east past Kabyle, provided access to a side road to Deultum, and ended at Anchialos on the western Black Sea coastal route (Fig. 4). Another road connected Augusta Traiana to Nicopolis ad Istrum through a pass in the Haemus Mountains.[67] Like Serdica,

[65] Madjarov 2012, 439-41, 444-5; 1993, 15, 17, 21-3; 1990 (See Fig. 4, p. 20 in particular); A settlement began in the 6th century BC on a terrace directly north of the later city while another arose 35 km west and was used in the 5th and 4th centuries BC. Expanding regional and interregional trade interactions prompted growth at the former site in the 4th century BC, as finds of coins from Thasos and of the Macedonian kings Philip II, Alexander the Great, and Alexander IV indicate. The site's name before "Diocletianopolis" is unknown.

[66] Madjarov 2012, 456-7, 460; 1993, 15.

[67] Ivanov 2012, 467, 469; Madjarov 1990 (See Fig. 4, p. 20 in particular).

it does not seem that Augusta Traiana was founded exactly at Beroe. D. Yankov has suggested that Beroe could have been 4 km northeast of Stara Zagora, under housing in the western part of the modern city, or under the park at its northern edge.[68] Thus, little can be said about Beroe beyond that it seems to have arisen in the area of Augusta Traiana from scattered settlements there by the 4th – 3rd century BC. It was most likely desirable natural resources, especially plentiful agricultural and grazing land, and trade occasioned by a central location in Thrace that encouraged the expansion of these settlements into Beroe by the 1st century AD.[69]

Beroe's position in central-eastern Thrace was most likely the main reason why its urban landscape expanded in the second half of the 1st – early 2nd century AD, but there is little information from the site itself for its appearance at this time. There is, however, a nearby villa that suggests the kinds of interactions at the growing town. The Chatalka villa site is 18 km west of Augusta Traiana and 4 km from the road between the town and Philippopolis.[70] The villa was built partially over a small settlement that had existed sometime between the late 4th and 1st century BC. Its construction date of the third quarter of the 1st century AD is based on the white mortar and lack of bricks in its walls. Supporting this date and indicating the villa's participation in the economic interactions that linked the new province of Thrace to the wider Roman Empire are finds of a few coins of the emperors Claudius to Vespasian. The same can be said about coin

[68] Ivanov 2012, 467-8; Nankov 2015, 401; Popov 2015, 121; Ivanov notes the sources that refer to the site as Beroe: Amm. Marc. 27.4.12; Anon. Vales A V, 18; Iordanes *Get.* 102; *Tabula Peutingeriana* VIII.2. The first location is supposed to be at Chechek Bair fortress. Ivanov endorses the last possible location for Beroe.

[69] Delev 2015a, 66; 2015b, 50; Popov 2015, 116-7.

[70] Haynes 2011, 10; Nikolov 1976, 4, 58; The site is at the confluence of the Chatalka and Mogilovska Rivers.

finds from the necropolis near the villa (Fig. 22). In three of the eight earliest tumuli were coins of the Roman Republic and of the emperors Augustus, Galba, and Vespasian.[71]

The villa consisted of a residential section with attached slave quarters and a separate workshop and enclosed farmyard immediately to the southwest. The former section, which was most likely two-storied, shares many features with the *pars urbana* of contemporary villas across the Roman Empire. These features included two *atria* with colonnaded *impluvia* that were axially arranged on the southern side of the residence and an entranceway and a *tablinum*-like room on a parallel axis directly north (Fig. 23).[72] The villa's *pars rustica*, which had a large central courtyard, held a workshop for producing local pottery and decorative appliques, rooms for making wine and walnut oil, cattle sheds, storerooms, and living quarters for the craftsmen and farmhands. The site's excavators estimated that the villa estate was 200 to 300 hectares in size. They also reasonably asserted that this land was managed in part by the villa owner, his family, and slaves and otherwise by free tenant farmers. Much of this land would have been used for the production of grain, walnuts, almonds, and grapes, for example, and for animal husbandry, which likely included horses, sheep, goats, and pigs.[73]

Altogether, then, the Chatalka villa suggests that in the late 1st – early 2nd century AD Beroe was home to a growing number of elites who derived their wealth from large, resource-rich tracts of the towns' hinterland. Given the large size of the villa's estate and the traditional Thracian tumuli in its necropolis, the villa's owner seems to have been a Thracian with Roman citizenship who had inherited ancestral land. While Thracian elites traditionally derived their

[71] Bouzek 2005, 137; Bujukliev 1986, 44; Haynes 2011, 10; Nikolov 1976, 19, 21-2, 34, 49, 55-6; The latter coins were found in tumuli #4, 6, and 7. The villa and its necropolis were used into the 5th century AD.

[72] Nikolov 1976, 4-17, 21, 23, 55.

[73] Haynes 2011, 10; Nikolov 1976, 26-37, 47, 55, 58-63; Located 60 to 70 m from the villa were round kilns where different vessels from those produced at the villa were fired, thus suggesting pottery workshops here.

wealth and status from landholding, the villa was a new model for rural elite residency and agricultural and industrial production. The villa's owner was thus participating in a new regional sense of elite culture that had been shaped by Thrace's enrollment into the Roman Empire. The villa's proximity to Beroe means that its elite owners would have travelled there often. Some of the villa's slaves and free tenant farmers most likely also spent time in town, thereby increasing diversity in its inhabitants' livelihoods and financial and legal statuses.[74]

The industrial and agricultural capacities of the Chatalka villa suggest that Beroe had developed into a significant economic center in central-eastern Thrace by the late 1st century AD. Since the town's hinterland would have held other large estates and numerous small settlements, the villa's diversified and large-yield contributions to Beroe's markets only provide a glimpse into the many different economic exchanges that would have brought together the town's people. Moreover, the common use of foreign products and Roman coinage as offerings in the villa's necropolis suggests that goods and traders from other parts of the Roman Empire were regular actors in Beroe's economic interactions. It also means that traditional funerary rituals at Beroe and across Thrace were adapting to the region's increased participation in the Empire's trade.[75]

As Augusta Traiana, Beroe developed even further as a hub for various interactions in the first half of the 2nd century AD. Examples of these interactions can be proposed from what is known about activity in the city during the urbanization horizon of the late 2nd and early 3rd century AD. Augusta Traiana began to mint its own bronze coins, for instance, in Marcus

[74] Bujukliev 1986, 14-6, 41-3, 71-2, 110-1; Nikolov 1976, 55, 63-5; Either the villa's owner or a family member was an auxiliary veteran since pieces of iron scale armor, bronze shield bosses, and a helmet with a visor in the form of a youth's face were found with the cremation of tumulus 1. The villa thus suggests that other Thracian auxiliary veterans made their home at Beroe and were among the town's elites.

[75] Bujukliev 1968, 33-6; Nikolov 1976, 49, 63-5; Foreign products that were offerings in the villa's necropolis include jewelry and glass objects from eastern provinces and bronze vessels and olive oil or wine from Italy, as is indicated by an amphora with the stamp of a T. Mannus Martianus on its handle.

Aurelius' principate, which indicates that the city had continued to gain importance in Thrace as an economic focal point. This is also indicated by evidence from across the city and its territory for the production of various consumer goods, which include statues, jewelry, and bronze objects like vessels, lamps, mirrors, statuettes, and chariot appliques. Such consumer goods were most likely traded across Thrace and to communities in neighboring Roman provinces.[76]

The expansion of these economic and other kinds of interactions at Augusta Traiana over the first half of the 2nd century AD was certainly facilitated by its central position along the road through central-eastern Thrace. In the third quarter of the same century, this regional prominence was manifested in several large-scale building projects. These included the repaving with large, rectangular pavers of the city's originally gravel, grid-planned streets, which were laid in the first half of the 2nd century AD.[77] In its durability, this paving allowed for increased and more sustained movement of pedestrian and likely wheeled traffic throughout the city, thus bolstering its appeal as a hub for human interactions of various kinds.

The repaving of Augusta Traiana's streets likely accompanied the (re)construction of the stores along them, like those on the way to the city's western gate. This would have reflected the city's growing importance as a commercial center. A large set of baths with axially arranged chambers was also built inside the city's western gate most likely in Marcus Aurelius' principate. Vania Popova, however, posits a construction date in the reign of Septimius Severus or Caracalla (Figs. 26, #4). Popova has even suggested that the baths were attached to a gymnasium. This building suggests that there was a sizeable population at Augusta Traiana and that these people's

[76] Bujukliev 1968, 34-8; Ivanov 2012, 472; Nenova-Merdjanova 2011, 123-4, 130; For example, some of the various bronze vessels and bronze lamps, strigils, and medical instruments found in tumuli 1 and 4 – 7 at the Chatalka villa were perhaps produced in and around Augusta Traiana.

[77] Ivanov 2012, 478; 2006, 16; Ivanov notes how only the main streets were completely repaved with the large pavers. Other side streets only had these pavers down their centers over the sewer line.

cultural values were in tune with those of the wider Roman Empire. The same can be said about the theater that is thought to have been built at the northern end of the city in the first half of the 2nd century AD (see Chapter Seven). The fortifications included in this construction activity enclosed c. 48.5 hectares, which means that Augusta Traiana was smaller than Philippopolis and Marcianopolis but larger than Nicopolis ad Istrum, Serdica, and Diocletianopolis.[78]

Conclusion

As Chapters Two and Three have covered, then, Macedonia and Thrace were simultaneously enrolled into the Roman Empire between 146 BC and the late 1st century AD in large part because of frequent wars between Roman armies and peoples in and around Thrace, the Roman coopting of preexisting land routes for army deployment, and the formal and informal settlement of legionary and auxiliary veterans. As has been noted, archaeological, epigraphic, and literary evidence for these processes is often insufficient for more certain conclusions about their effects. This evidence still attests that Macedonia and Thrace's concurrent integration into a Roman imperial network effected the notable expansion of various interactions across both regions, albeit at an irregular pace. Several sites became particularly complex local urban networks (aka cities) by the late 1st century AD. This is the case of most of this study's main sites. The many diverse interactions that these cities came to host made them more connected than before to each other and other urban centers in and outside Macedonia and Thrace. These cities thus had a leading role in driving their provinces' participation in the Roman Empire.

As interconnected as Macedonia and Thrace were during their enrollment into the Roman Empire, there were still significant regional differences in the urban changes this integration

[78] Boyadjiev 2006, 66-9; Ivanov 2012, 468, 473, 476, 480, 483-4; Ivanov 1983, 131, 144; Minkova 2017, 101; Popova 2017, 63-4, 66; Minkova notes that numismatic evidence upholds the baths' construction in the later 2nd century AD. Scholars who support a Severan date are in the minority. Unfortunately, Augusta Traiana's agora has not yet been found, but it is posited to be at the confluence of the *decumanus* and *cardo maximi*.

entailed. After Macedonia became a province in 146 BC, the region's variously-sized towns experienced slow and inconsistent growth until around the mid-1st century AD. Heraclea Lyncestis and Stobi gradually attracted more trade and settlement activity between the mid-2nd and late 1st century BC but seemingly gained more settlers (including veterans) in the 1st century AD. Philippi seems to have remained the same size as it had been in the early 2nd century BC until Marc Antony and Augustus established colonies there, which drastically increased the number of the town's inhabitants and its openness to ideas and material forms. Because Thessalonica was Macedonia's capital, a higher volume of interactions seems to have become based there, perhaps at a steadier rate, than at this study's other Macedonian sites. While these sites were expanding as interactive hubs, the people, objects, and ideas that had been concentrated at the former cities Pella and Aigai dispersed to new locations.

In the two centuries before the late 1st – early 2nd century AD, the settlement hierarchy in Thrace was similar to what it had been from the mid-4th – early 2nd century BC. Besides the Greek colonies in Aegean Thrace and on the western Black Sea coast, most of Thrace's settlements seem to have been small in size and relatively simple in terms of the diversity of interactions they hosted. This suggests why the *στρατεγοί* were maintained for around a century as a flexible way to administer Thrace's dispersed, largely lightly-urbanized communities. Some communities, like Philippopolis and perhaps a few *στρατεγοί* capitals, were larger and attracted a greater number and variety of interactions. Wars across Thrace in the late 2nd – 1st century BC likely disrupted opportunities for the concentration and diversification of activities at other sites, like those belonging to the Bessi and Getae. While archaeological evidence from Thrace's Greek colonies is lacking for the late 2nd century BC to 1st century AD, literary references to Roman armies fighting to control them suggest that they were complex urban landscapes.

Because of its central position in Thrace, Philippopolis seems to have grown gradually around its three main hills until the late 1st century BC. At this point, the combined patronage of the Roman state under Augustus and of the first Thracian client king Rhoemetalkes I facilitated a greater concentration of political and economic interactions at the town. Attracting new settlers such as legionary and auxiliary veterans, such interactions drove Philippopolis' expansion into a city in the second half of the 1st century AD. Meanwhile, Apri and Deultum were founded to become hubs of activity for the settlements in their territory. Around the same time, Serdica, Diocletianopolis, and Augusta Traiana emerged as concentrated population centers in areas of small, scattered settlements, most likely with the help of legionary and auxiliary veterans. Along with the several other sites that Trajan founded anew or near preexisting settlements, Serdica and Augusta Traiana experienced rapid local network expansion in the early 2nd century AD.

Thus, in comparison to Macedonia, Thrace's urban development from the mid-2nd century BC to the late 1st – early 2nd century AD did not involve the widespread emergence of fairly large urban centers until toward the end of this period of time. The main reason for this seems to be that Thracians, as in the preceding two centuries, still preferred inhabiting groups of small settlements dispersed across tribal territories. In these territories, those sites that hosted more and more varied interactions seem to have included territorial capitals typified by their defensive capabilities and regional sanctuaries like that of the Bessi. For Roman administrators, however, urban centers were most suitable to their control of the Empire's provinces. This is why it took Roman emperors' insistence for several cities to develop relatively quickly in Thrace beginning in the second half of the 1st but particularly in the first half of the 2nd century AD.

That being said and as Chapters Two and Three explored, it was not only because of Roman administrative concerns that cities had developed at Thessalonica, Philippi, Heraclea, and

Stobi in Macedonia and Philippopolis, Serdica, and Augusta Traiana in Thrace by the late 1st – early 2nd century AD. Various motivations drove many different people from Macedonia and Thrace and other regions in the Roman Empire to come together with their diverse ideas and objects to build and benefit from more complex networks at these sites. These urban centers' resulting regional preeminence is represented by the urbanization horizons that transformed their landscapes in the late 1st – early 2nd century AD and around each subsequent turn-of-the-century.

Conspicuous among the large-scale building projects that characterized these horizons was the renovation of older or construction of new public entertainment venues. As Chapter Two covered, entertainment venues that are known to have been built in Macedonia before the late 1st – early 2nd century AD urbanization horizon notably included the theaters at Aigai, Pella, Philippi, and Thasos and the theater and stadium at Dion. Built between the first half of the 5th and the late 3rd century BC, these entertainment venues had been mediators in their local urban networks long before Macedonia was a Roman province. The changes to local and regional interactions that came with Macedonia' enrollment into the Roman Empire ended the mediation of the theaters at Aigai, Pella, and Dion. The theaters at Philippi and Thasos, however, were renovated so they could more effectively serve the transformed interactions that characterized their cities by the late 1st century AD. In their multifunctional mediation, these structures were much like the new theaters, *odea*, and hippodrome that were built at Thasos, Dion, Thessalonica, Heraclea Lyncestis, and Stobi around the same time and in the next three centuries.

In contrast to this study's main sites in Macedonia, urban development at those in Thrace between the late 4th century BC and the mid-1st century AD noticeably did not include public entertainment venues. As was already noted in Chapter One, this was the case for urban centers on the interior of Thrace but not for the Greek colonies on the northern Aegean and western

Black Sea coasts. Most if not all of these sites would have had at least theaters by the time Thrace became a Roman province. Moreover, many of these structures were likely used as long as those in inland Thrace. The theater at Maroneia is the best-studied example of both conditions. The theaters at Odessos and Perinthus, of which few architectural fragments remain, also exemplify both conditions.[79] For Philippopolis, Serdica, Diocletianopolis, Augusta Traiana, and this study's comparison sites in Thrace, however, theaters, *odea*, amphitheaters, and a stadium only became influential, multifunctional network actors after the late 1st – early 2nd century AD.

In their newly modified or built forms, monumental public entertainment venues were particularly potent symbols and drivers of city status. This is all explored in Chapters Four through Seven; the purpose of these chapters is thus twofold. It is first to (re)introduce the public entertainment venues at this study's main and comparison sites in Macedonia (see Tables 2, 4) and Thrace (see Tables 3, 4), respectively. In these chapters, the entertainment venues at this study's main sites are introduced by site. Comparable structures from other sites in both regions are introduced in this site-by-site discussion to stress regional trends and to suggest solutions to questions about the forms and functions of this study's main entertainment venues. The order in which the entertainment venues at this study's main sites are discussed is roughly chronological according to when these buildings were first modified or built. Because certain kinds of entertainment venue were modified or built in successive centuries, the examples at this study's main sites are introduced in the order of theaters, *stadia*, *odea*, amphitheaters, and hippodromes.

The second, more important purpose of Chapters Four through Seven is to analyze how, as multifunctional urban network actors, the public entertainment venues at this study's main sites in Macedonia and Thrace promoted the expansion of their urban landscapes and these

[79] Ivanov et al. 2006, 80; Minchev 2019, 178; Sayar 1998, 60; The extant architectural fragments of Odessos' theater are now on display in Varna' archaeological museum. Remnants of Perinthus' theater are still visible in-situ.

cities' participation in a Roman imperial network. The introductions of these structures thus entail brief descriptions of their architecture. More architectural details, particularly further changes to entertainment venues after they were initially modified or built, are presented in the process of specifying how they were able to shape their cities by hosting cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions. Lastly, some structures included in the large-scale building campaigns that produced this study's public entertainment venues are also discussed. These structures both provide necessary context for entertainment venues' mediation of the interactions that shaped urban life and in some cases were even products of this mediation.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE THEATERS AT PHILIPPI AND HERACLEA LYNCESTIS AS URBAN NETWORK ACTORS IN ROMAN MACEDONIA (LATE 1ST – 4TH CENTURY AD)

Introduction

This chapter and subsequent ones explore how Macedonia and Thrace's public entertainment venues were urban network actors that mediated various kinds of human interactions in their cities between the end of the 1st and beginning of the 4th century AD. This chapter and the next cover this study's main and comparison sites in Macedonia. The discussions in these chapters thematically belong together but have been separated for greater readability. Chapter Four covers the public entertainment venues at Philippi and Heraclea Lyncestis while Chapter Five examines those at Stobi and Thessalonica.

This and the next chapter thus explore how the cultural, political, religious, and economic functions of public entertainment venues in Macedonia coalesced to shape understandings of urbanism in the province's leading urban centers by helping to introduce to them new human actors, public spaces and structures, civic and honorary monuments, and consumer goods. This involvement of entertainment venues in the lives of their cities' inhabitants and visitors in turn bolstered the leading role that these cities had in defining urbanism at a regional level. The diachronic continuity or change in forms of urbanism at local and regional levels reveals interregional ties occasioned by Macedonia's participation in a Roman imperial network.

As was noted in Chapter One, in Chapters Four through Seven the shaping effects of this study's main public entertainment venues in Macedonia and Thrace on their urban landscapes are discussed in the order of their cultural, political, religious, and then economic functions. The capacity of this study's main entertainment venues to host performances for large audiences is

discussed first because this cultural function is the one that most readily comes to mind for these structures. Presented at public festivals in honor of various deities and the Roman imperial cult, the cultural events that Macedonia and Thrace's entertainment venues hosted were dramatic performances (tragedies, comedies, mimes, and pantomimes)[1], gladiatorial games, animal hunts, oratorical displays and recitations, athletic events, and horse and chariot races. Here the term "cultural" is used to refer to how through the performances they hosted, entertainment venues could induce urban inhabitants and visitors from a city's hinterland and further afield to value (consciously and subconsciously) certain traits or patterns of behavior.[2] These buildings were well-suited to informing audiences' values because they could expedite this process and bolster its success through the draw of shared experience, Fagan's collective effervescence.[3]

The ideas that spectators and performers internalized as praiseworthy after viewing, reacting to, and performing in various displays include leisure (*otium*), professional expertise, martial skill, clemency, and courage. That such values were embraced by many who frequented public entertainments is seen in the commissioning of funerary markers (stelae and sarcophagi), architectural decoration (e.g. *invitationes ad munera*), and consumer goods (e.g. figurines and

[1] General scholarly consensus is that mimes and pantomimes were the most common theatrical performances across the Roman Empire in the 2nd – 4th centuries AD. In comparison, traditional tragedies and comedies are thought to have been staged much less frequently. As many scholars have noted over the past few decades, however, the frequency of images of their scenes and masks in all kinds of artistic mediums suggests that these kinds of dramatic performances were still staged fairly regularly at least into the 3rd century AD. In her 2016 dissertation, Mali Skotheim argues convincingly and at length based on epigraphical evidence from the eastern Mediterranean that traditional Greek dramas continued to be performed at least into the early 3rd century AD. She further argues that new dramas were composed through the 2nd century AD. For further discussion on this debate see Dunbabin 2016, 54 ff; McCart 2007; and Bieber 1961, 239-53, for example.

[2] Dunbabin 2016, 5-9.

[3] Beacham 1999, 2-3; Fagan 2011.

lamps) that display images of performers or scenes from performances.[4] As Katharine Dunbabin cautions, such decoration does not necessarily reflect specific dramatic performances, gladiator battles, or animals hunts that an entertainment venue hosted. Neither does this decoration necessarily mean that a particular entertainment venues hosted a pictured entertainment when the decorated item in question was made or sold.[5] Even so, the entertainment-inspired goods and monuments found at this study's sites still manifest the abstract values that entertainment venues' performances conveyed and that interested people. In their features, these artifacts suggest examples of these values (e.g. esteem for *otium* or martial skill). Urban populations' internalization of the values, also led to the construction of additional buildings for public diversion. All these new material forms (e.g. consumer goods, civic and funerary monuments, and recreational buildings) then became urban network actors capable of shaping human interactions in their own right. In comparison to buildings, however, artifacts and small monuments likely did so with fewer and less marked tangible effects on urban landscapes.

Just like others across the Roman Empire, public entertainment venues in Macedonia and Thrace were as much political spaces as cultural ones. At the same time as viewing and performing in these buildings inculcated inhabitants of and visitors to cities with a range of personal values, these acts also prompted individuals to think about their relationships with one another. Such thinking would have been rife when assemblies convened in entertainment venues to make decisions for their cities or provinces. One particularly important political idea that

[4] Alderte 2014, 439, 442, 445; Beacham 1999, 27; Dunbabin 2016, 4; Toner 2014, 452; See, for example, Wistrand 1992 for discussion on the values Roman elites saw reflected in public entertainments and Beacham 1991 for a discussion of Roman comedy, including mimes and pantomimes, as popular leisure activities.

[5] Dunbabin 2016, 54-7 ff.; Dunbabin makes this valuable point with regard to sculptural representations of tragic and comic performers dated to the later 2nd – 3rd century AD and to contemporary scenes of their performances in mosaic floors in elite houses at Zeugma, Pompeii, Mytiline, and Antioch. She proposes that such scenes of tragic and comic actors could have been an iconographic language through which elites expressed a general esteem for Greco-Roman dramatic tradition and not contemporary theatrical displays.

Macedonia and Thrace's entertainment venues were designed to promote was that urban life was hierarchical based on wealth, office-holding, and legal status. Entertainment venues conveyed this idea in a visually prominent way since elite magistrates and priests sat at the front of the *cavea*. In some entertainment venues, an especially privileged few sat in a VIP box at the *cavea*'s center. People of lesser means gauged their status relative to these elites and each other based on their positions in the upper seating rows. Elites' seating at the foot of the vertically-arranged non-elites of their cities in turn would have been reminded them that their status depended on their services to and the goodwill of these non-elites. In their seating and the entrances they used, all spectators were elevated above and physically separate from the performers, creating a sharp divide between the entertainers and the entertained. Lastly, underscored by pomp, the presence of images of the imperial family or of their representatives as well as verbal acclamations of the emperor, his family, and imperial authorities would have reminded everyone of the emperor's political preeminence in Macedonia and Thrace and these provinces' cities.[6]

By bringing together large crowds of people for emotionally-charged shared experiences, an entertainment venue also fueled sentiments of belonging to a city-wide community. It was further able to bolster this unified sense of civic community by accommodating imperial officials or civic monuments that denoted a city's place in Macedonia or Thrace and the wider Roman Empire. The idea of shared involvement in local urban life despite financial and legal differences stood to challenge the idea of social hierarchy that a venue likewise reinforced. It was also possible for an entertainment venue to promote a sense of identity for sub-communities by

[6] Dunbabin 2016, 9; Sear 2006, 5-6, 12-3; Skotheim 2016, 121-4; Verbal acclamations of the emperor and local and regional imperial authorities were likely at least at times made in Latin, since it was the official administrative language across the Empire. As the common language in Macedonian and Thracian cities, though, Greek was most likely the main language used for performances and the various acclamations they entailed. Thus, the use of Latin in acclamations of imperial authority would have stood out to performers and spectators and highlighted the political preeminence of this authority in Macedonia and Thrace.

highlighting status distinctions among spectators and performers. A city's elites, civic tribes, families, and resident athletes, for example, sometimes left a performance feeling more united. That Macedonia and Thrace's public entertainment venues shaped cities' politically in these ways is attested by the public spaces that were installed around them and the monuments that were erected across their cities to promote individuals, sub-communities, and the whole city.[7]

Besides prompting inhabitants of and visitors to their cities to internalize various virtues and senses of belonging to different communities, Macedonia and Thrace's public entertainment venues also gave people opportunities to contemplate varied religious beliefs. In these provinces' theaters, amphitheaters, *odea*, stadiums, and hippodromes, spectators and performers encountered various deities and personified values either evoked in performances or represented in shrines in seating areas, entrance corridors, or scene buildings.[8] These encounters prompted people to think about how a good relationship with the divine was necessary for personal success. By extension, entertainment venues encouraged urban populations as a whole to contemplate how staying in certain gods' favor safeguarded their cities, their provinces, and the wider Roman Empire. Some individuals' thoughts of devotion and wishes for divine favor found material expression in the forms of dedications in entertainment venues' surroundings.

Lastly, evidence from the surroundings of a few of this study's main public entertainment venues indicates that these structures contributed to the expansion of economic interactions in their cities. They did so by providing opportunities for the production and consumption of goods and foodstuffs in the context of public festivals and assemblies. As at a modern sports arena, spectators who had assembled for events in Macedonia and Thrace's public entertainment venues

[7] Dunbabin 2016, 9; Sear 2006, 4; Skotheim 2016, 119, 125-8.

[8] Beacham 1999, 27; In reference to entertainment venues in Rome during the Republic, Beacham writes that "the symbolic presence of [Rome's] deities [was] continually in view during the entertainments."

seem to have wanted to buy goods and food to enrich their experiences. In turn, craftsmen and vendors would have quickly realized that they could take advantage of the potentially lucrative financial opportunities afforded by these large crowds by setting up shop close to their city's entertainment venue. Craftsmen who worked elsewhere in the same city seemingly benefited as well since they were approached to make monuments and goods that reflected the cultural, political, and religious ideas that interactions in an entertainment venue produced.

These financial transactions not only would have occasioned the redistribution of money among urban inhabitants but also would have brought new money into a city. People who normally lived in that city's hinterland as well as visitors from other urban centers were drawn into the city for the performances its entertainment venue hosted. Although there is no explicit evidence for it from Macedonia and Thrace, some of these funds most likely entered the public treasury through rent since vendors who set up stalls outside public entertainment buildings would have needed permission from civic leaders. The evidence that attests to economic activity at this study's public entertainment venues and that shows the extension of this activity through these structures' mediation is both structural and artifactual. The structural evidence consists of permanent shops built against entertainment venues or adjacent public squares that could have held temporary stalls. Artifacts that can be said to have been produced or spread in a city because of an entertainment venue's mediation in local economic interactions include small-denomination coins and goods like ceramic lamps, vessels, and figurines.[9]

[9] Alderte 2014, 439, 445; Kaiser 2011 (e-book), loc. 681-9, 1255; Sear 2006, 9; Kaiser discusses the readiness with which vendors would have set up stalls in wider streets with heavy pedestrian traffic in cities across the Empire. In particular, he references the laws in Ulpian's *Digest* (43.8.25; 43.8.32) that call for the streets to be relatively clear of stalls for the sake of pedestrian traffic and Libianus' note (*Orations on Antioch* 11.254) that every possible space along the porticoed main street in Antioch was occupied by vendors' stalls. Although these sources do not mention the payment of rent, the concern with which they address the loss of street space suggests that it would have been used as a compensatory measure. Sear briefly discusses how some shops were set up in theaters' substructures. See also Holleran 2012 (e.g. 189 ff.) for a full discussion of evidence for shopping at stores and stalls in ancient Rome.

It was as cultural, political, religious, and economic spaces, then, that Macedonia's public entertainment venues promoted the maintenance and expansion of their local and regional networks in communication with a Roman imperial network. In the course of demonstrating this with regard to the public entertainment venues as this study main sites in Macedonia, Chapters Four and Five first establish the architectural forms and dating of these structures. These theaters, *stadia*, *odea*, amphitheaters, and hippodromes are introduced by site according to the urbanization horizons during which they were built, or first modified in the case of those entertainment venues that were built before Macedonia was a Roman province. A few other public buildings that featured in these urbanization horizons' large-scale building campaigns are introduced to contextualize the local networks that entertainment venues served.

As was the case in the Kingdom of Macedon, the theater was the main form of public entertainment venue in Roman Macedonia (Table 2, 4). Unlike under the Macedonian kings, however, theaters were open to more spectators than elites. This capacity to host large cross-sections of a city's population enabled theaters' mediation to have wider ramifications for urban development in the Roman province of Macedonia. The *odeum* was the second most common entertainment venue in Roman Macedonia. It replaced the theater as a setting that catered more to elites but hosted smaller-scale versions of nearly the same kinds of performances. The stadium and hippodrome are represented by single examples, at Dion and Thessalonica, respectively. As in Asia and Achaia, amphitheaters largely did not exist in Macedonia. The only known example is that at Dyrrachium, which is not covered here because this site was in Epirus and so outside the traditionally accepted borders of Macedonia as a region. Amphitheaters may not have been built in Macedonia for the same reason cited for these other provinces: that Roman administrators and local elites wanted to respect the region's traditional ties to Greek culture. As

Macedonia's theaters show, however, this motivation was coupled with the practical awareness that a theater's orchestra could be modified to present gladiatorial battles and animal hunts.[10]

The construction of theaters therefore figured prominently in the late 1st – early 2nd century AD building campaigns that heralded how Thessalonica, Dion, Stobi, and Heraclea Lyncestis had become cities. Since Philippi already had a theater, it was rebuilt at this time to mark the site's new prosperity (Table 5, below). The urbanization horizon to which this building activity belongs coincides with similar horizons in other provinces. In Italy, Asia, and Greece, for example, old theaters began to be rebuilt slightly earlier in the early 1st century AD, although in most cases this took place in the third quarter of the same century. In North Africa, theaters began to be standard features of cities slightly later, by the mid-late 2nd century AD.[11]

As in these other regions, in Macedonia and Thrace the modification of an existing public entertainment venue or the construction of another one in a city during a later urbanization horizon conveyed a renewal of local urban life, of preeminence in regional affairs, and of involvement in a wider imperial network. This was the case of Dion and Thessalonica in the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD, when *odea* were added to the sides of their agoras (Table 5). Dion's *odeum* was built with a bath complex, with which it shared a courtyard, while the *odeum* at Thessalonica was a *bouleuterium* that was enlarged and redecorated as part of forum renovations. Around the same time as these developments, Philippi' theater was further elaborated.

[10] Adam-Veleni 2010, 95-7, 160-1; Di Napoli 2015, 375.

[11] Adam-Veleni 2010, 95-7, 160-1; Di Napoli 2015, 367; Dunbabin 2016, 51-2; Laurence et al. 2011, 238, 246, 250; Laurence et al. note that the North African cities with theaters were provincial administrative centers and big ports. It is worthwhile to note here that ongoing excavations at Heraclea Sintica in eastern Macedonia (modern southwestern Bulgaria) over the last couple of years (2018-20) have uncovered evidence for a theater in the form of an inscription that mentions the building, terracotta theater masks, and votive tablets to Nemesis that bear gladiatorial imagery. All of these finds are currently unpublished, but they are mentioned and pictured in articles and videos available at www.archaeologia-bulgarica.com. The search for the theater itself is currently underway.

The urbanization horizon in the late 3rd – early 4th century AD saw the further modification of the theaters at Philippi, Stobi, and likely Lychnidos and of the *odeum* at Thessalonica so that these buildings more effectively hosted performances. These structural enhancements demonstrate that these buildings remained important public features in their urban landscapes. More importantly, it was during the same urbanization horizon that the Palace of Galerius with its hippodrome was built at Thessalonica to mark it as the capital of the new diocese of Macedonia (Fig. 5). The hippodrome promoted Roman urbanism in ways that looked to the past as well as forward to new, Late Antique understandings of urbanism.

Table 5: Build Phases for the Entertainment Venues from Macedonia Mentioned in the Text

Site	Century (BC – AD)								
	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st BC	1st AD	2nd	3rd	4th
Aigai		T – B				T – X			
Dion	S – B		T^1 – B*				T^2 – B, O – B		A – X
Heraclea Lyncestis							T – B		T – X
Lychnidos							T – B	T – M	T – X
Pella		T – B			T – X				
Philippi		T – B				T – M^1	T – M^2	T – M^3	T – X
Stobi						T – B	T – M^1	T – M^2	T – X
Thasos		T – B*					T – M, O – B		A – X
Thessalo-nica						T – B	O – B	O – M^1, H – B	O – M^2, A – X

Key: Venue types: Hippodrome (H), Odeum (O), Stadium (S), Theater (T), All (A)
Construction type: Built (B), Modified (M), Abandoned (X)
Qualifiers: Number in succession ($^{1, 2, 3}$), Possible earlier form (*), Unclear (?)

The Theater at Philippi

The Form and Dating of Philippi's Theater

The Roman-style rebuilding of Philippi's theater most likely occurred around the beginning of the final quarter of the 1st century AD (see below). For the *cavea*, this rebuilding

entailed the installation of marble seating blocks and vaulting the *parodoi*. The latter change allowed the *parodoi* to support additional seating and the orchestra to be more enclosed. The first two rows of seats were removed to deepen the orchestra, which was paved with marble plaques. At the foot of the new front row seats was set a low, orthostat podium wall (1.10 m; Figs. 7b, 25, 30a). The *cavea*'s seven staircases reached the orchestra through the podium wall. Lastly, a two-story scene building was built with a wooden *proscaenium* and a *stoa post scaenam* on a lower level (Fig. 7). Its first story and stage were accessed through doorways on a landing at the top of two large staircases on either side of the scene building. Small arched passageways on either end of each staircase led into the *stoa post scaenam* and under the stage.[12]

Based on the decoration and form (rectangular with five doorways) of the *scaenae frons*, Collart identified theaters in Asia Minor that were modified in the time of the Antonines, like those at Pergamon, Aspendos, Perge, Sagalassos, and Termessos, as close stylistic parallels to the first Roman phase of Philippi's theater. He thus similarly dated the modification of Philippi's theater. He also identified the theater at Ephesus as a particularly close structural parallel. Since the *scaenae frons* of this theater was built in 66 AD, this parallel suggests that Philippi's theater could have been rebuilt earlier than the mid-2nd century AD. In support of this possibility, George Karadedos and Chaido Koukouli-Chrysanthaki mention an unpublished inscription found reused in Late Antique buildings directly south of the theater. Perhaps once located in the theater's *scaenae frons*, the inscribed slab notes that the city (*ex vectigalibus publicis*) dedicated a statue to Vespasian and his sons and so suggests that the theater was remodeled in the time of this emperor and maybe through his patronage. A coin hoard found under the orchestra's

[12] Adam-Veleni 2010, 83, 156; Collart 1937, 373-4, 376-7, 378; 1928, 85-6; Di Napoli 2018, 329; Dodge 2009, 41; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 275-7; 2006b, 75; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2016, 196-8; 2006, 63-4, 67; 2003a, 90; 2001, 75-6, 82; Sear 2006, 423; These construction phases are revised over the course of Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki's articles; the phasing I use here is that laid out in their 2016 publication.

pavement corroborates this dating. It also provides a motive for imperial funding since, as Sophia Kremydi-Sicilianou contends, the minting of these coins at Philippi probably began with Vespasian's celebration of the colony's centenary.[13] It is thus quite plausible that the first Roman phase of Philippi's theater dates to the last quarter of the 1st century AD.

The modification of Philippi's theater in Vespasian's principate is in keeping with the earliest evidence for Philippi's agora. The monumental agora that is now visible at the site was first articulated in the time of the Antonines, most likely in Marcus Aurelius' principate (Fig. 32). An architrave block was found, however, that belonged to an earlier building below the later agora's *rostrum* and that is inscribed with the name of a military tribune of the *legio IV Macedonica*. Since Vespasian discharged this legion, this find suggests that a simpler agora existed by the late third quarter of the 1st century AD. Moreover, this was around when other significant changes were made to Philippi's urban landscape: the rock-cut shrines at the base of Philippi's acropolis and the baths along the Via Egnatia (Fig. 6, #3-5, 17).[14]

The first modification of Thasos' theater was similar in form to that of Philippi's. It seems to have taken place a few decades later, however. As at Philippi, perhaps the biggest change is that the *scaena* of Thasos' theater was rebuilt to have an ornate *scaenae frons*. In its overall form, it was rectangular and had three separate interior rooms; it was as wide as the orchestra (Fig. 8). At its front side corners were two small *parascaenia* that were oriented toward

[13] *BCH* 52 (1928); Adam-Veleni 2010, 83, 156; Aristodemou 2015, 73; Collart 1937, 373-5; 1928, 85, 90-2; Gounares 2004, 30; Halfmann 2004, 60, 73 (Ephesus and Pergamon); Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 276, fn. 7 (unpublished inscription); Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2000, 23; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2016, 198; 2001b, 90; Kremydi-Sicilianou 2002, 73-84; Sear 2006, 346-7 (Pergamon), 366 (Aspendos), 372-3 (Perge), 374-5 (Sagalassus), 423 (Philippi).

[14] Collart 1937, 350, 354, 358; Dickenson 2012, 205, 208; Gounares 2004, 47; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 276; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2000, 38; Zarmakoupi 2018, 281; It is quite possible that a simple agora was laid out soon after the Augustan colony was established at Philippi since it would have helped the large group of new settlers become involved in life at the site.

either end of the *cavea*. The Doric façade of the first theater's *proscaenium* (with Lysistratos' dedication inscription) was kept but gained new sculpted metopes bearing images of various deities (see below). Gates or doors were installed on the interior ends of the theater's *parodoi*, and the lowest two or three rows of the *cavea*'s seats were replaced with a podium wall. As with the podium wall of Philippi's theater, the orthostats in this one rose above the level of the walkway in front of the lowest row of seating (1.71 m; Fig. 27). Only the central stairway of the *cavea* reached the orchestra's floor. Behind the podium wall were set rectangular sockets for holding beams across which would have been stretched netting. With the netting in place, the barrier at the base of the *cavea* would have been around twice the height of the podium wall. As is discussed below, this netting allowed animal hunts to be staged in the theater's orchestra.[15]

The dating of these changes to Thasos' theater is unclear. The structural changes have plausibly been reckoned, as by Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos for example, to have taken place in the second quarter of the 2nd century AD during Hadrian' principate. As Georgia Aristodemou notes, based on their style the addition of the new metopes to the *proscaenium* may have occurred toward the end of this century instead. What suggests a date in the early 2nd century AD for the other alterations is an inscription along the top of the podium wall that simply notes the names of the its dedicators: Heragoras, son of Euphrillos, and his wife Hispane. The same Hispane has seemingly been identified in an inscription from Thessalonica, which notes that the benefactress left money in her will for the city to stage gladiatorial battles and animal hunts in honor of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. The dating of this inscription to 140 AD thus supplies a *terminus ante quem* in the early 2nd century AD for the modification of Thasos'

[15] Adam-Veleni 2010, 88, 158; Aristodemou 2015, 76; Bonias 2016, 230-9; Collart 1928, 118; Di Napoli 2018, 327-8; Gebhard 1975, 55; Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 107; Ivanov et al. 2006, 84; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 280-2; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2006a, 101-2; Sear 2006, 420.

theater. Broadly datable to the mid-2nd century AD, the ceramic evidence from around the rebuilt scene building generally supports this idea. Although they mention the podium wall's inscription and support its dating, Grandjean and Salviat assert that the theater's *parodoi* were first blocked in the 1st century AD so that the theater could accommodate gladiatorial battles and animal hunts at this time. This earlier date does not seem possible, however, since both changes would have needed to have been made at the same time to make the staging of these performances possible.[16]

Maroneia's theater was most likely first modified around the same time as those at Philippi and Thasos because of the structures' geographical proximity and the similarities among their modified forms. A more precise date than the late 1st – early 2nd century AD does not seem tenable. Chryssa Karadima et al. have generally proposed the 1st century AD, but this estimate seems to be based on the assumption that the theater was adapted soon after Thrace became a Roman province. There are names inscribed in the *cavea* that reveal that some of Maroneia's theater-goers had gained Roman citizenship under the Flavian emperors, such as T. Flavius Polyneikos and T. Flavius Rufinus. However, these individuals' presence in the theater does not necessarily mean that the building was modified in the late 1st century AD.[17]

Once modified, Maroneia's theater would have had a two-story scene building with a marble façade and a tall, narrow stage like Philippi and Thasos' theaters (Fig. 9). Like that of the latter, the *scaena* of Maroneia's theater was the length of the orchestra and had three interior rooms: a central one flanked by rooms nearly twice as long. The seats of honor that comprised the *cavea*'s front row were removed along with the slabs that covered the drain in front of them.

[16] *IG* X 2,1 137 (The inscription from Thessalonica); *SEG* 18:361 (inscription on the podium wall); Adam-Veleni 2010, 88, 158; Aristodemou 2015, 76; Bonias 2016, 230-9; Di Napoli 2018, 328; Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 107; Hornum 1993, 53; Ivanov et al. 2006, 84; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 280-1; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2006a, 101-2; Sear 2006, 420; Adam-Veleni dates the inscription on the podium wall and so all of the initial structural changes to Thasos' theater to the late 2nd century AD.

[17] Karadima 2015, 19, 23, 26, 50-1; Karadima et al. 2015, 257, 261, 264.

These drain covers were reworked and set on end to be reused as the theater's new podium wall, which like those at Philippi and Thasos' theaters rose above the walkway at the base of the *cavea* (c. 1.20 m, Fig. 28). As in Thasos's theater, sockets were installed behind the podium wall for netting supported on wooden beams. The lowest seven rows behind the podium wall were the best preserved, but traces of seating further up the theater's hill suggest that the building had one *cavea* with 20 seating rows. The fourth and seventh stairways accessed the orchestra.[18]

Unlike the theaters at Philippi, Thasos, and Maroneia, for some reason that at Dion was not rebuilt in the late 1st century AD and was instead abandoned by this time. Dion's stadium was also never structurally articulated; it did see renewed use in the 2nd – 4th centuries AD, as Roman imperial coinage from its excavation attest.[19] Perhaps these spaces were not updated out of respect for their sacred pasts. The idea would have been that contemporary architectural interventions would have disrespected these buildings' continued use for religious interactions. This reasoning does not explain, however, why the Hellenistic theater was not renovated along the lines of its original design. Whether an intentional decision or one motivated by a lack of resources for renovation, the theater instead deteriorated naturally.

A new theater was built at Dion to the east of the abandoned Hellenistic one; it was set along the river bank on nearly the same east-west orientation (Fig. 10). Like Philippi, Thasos, and Maroneia's rebuilt theaters, this new entertainment venue combined the Greek theater architecture that was traditional to Macedonia with features that had become standard in Italian theaters. It had a scene building with an ornate *scaenae frons*, and its *cavea*, which is estimated

[18] Di Napoli 2018, 334; Ivanov et al. 2006, 84; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 282; Karadima 2015, 20-1, 26-7; Karadima et al. 2015, 261-2; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2006a, 99-101.

[19] Di Napoli 2018, 323; Karadedos 2016a, 75; Karadedos et al. 2014, 18, 20-1; Palaiokrassa 2016, 97-8; Pandermalis 2016b, 61; 1999, 74, 44-59.

to have had 24 rows, was completely built on a series of fourteen radial vaults. The *cavea* was separated from the orchestra by an orthostat podium wall (0.92 m tall). The wall, the top of which was level with the walkway at the foot at the first row of seats, was pierced by three stairways that led into the orchestra; it was never surmounted by a netting system (Fig. 29). The theater's design was Greek in how its *cavea* was just over semicircular like Philippi's, its *proscaenium* (c. 1 m tall) was slightly longer than the *scaena*, and the rectangular scene building was only as wide as the orchestra. This new theater's estimated seating capacity is smaller than that of the older one at c. 5,000 spectators (vs. c. 8,000). The theater's excavator Giorgios Bakalakis placed its construction in the early 2nd century AD and in the time of Hadrian in particular. In the absence of firm evidence, however, a construction in the late 1st century AD around when Philippi's theater was modified should not be ruled out.[20]

Philippi's theater was modified again in the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD urbanization horizon. Sometime in the late 2nd century AD, perhaps around the beginning of the final quarter of the century, an upper tier of seating was added at the top of the theater. This new tier had a vaulted substructure and was accessed by five corridors aligned with staircases in the *ima cavea*; a *diazoma* separated the two seating tiers (Figs. 25, 26a). A covered walkway that was partially segmented into rooms by short wall segments was set right behind the new *summa cavea*.[21]

The construction of the *summa cavea* and *epitheatron* coincided with more drastic changes to the theater's orchestra. Proceeding in two closely dated phases, these modifications

[20] Adam-Veleni 2010, 90, 101, 163; Bakalakis 1969, 342-3; 1968, 347; Di Napoli 2018, 323-4; Palaiokrassa 2016, 92-7; Zarmakoupi 2018, 289; Bakalakis bases this dating on the assumption that the theater was finished when Hadrian passed through Macedonia c. 125 AD.

[21] Adam-Veleni 2010, 83; Collart 1937, 377-8; 1928, 99; Di Napoli 2018, 331; Gounaris and Gounari 2004, 30; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 277; 2006a, 104; 2006b, 91; 2003a, 90; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2000, 23; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2016, 194; 2006, 68; 2001, 75; A short section of Philippi's eastern city wall was demolished to accommodate the eastern side of this *epitheatron*,

show an interest in increasing the theater's utility as a venue for animal hunts and gladiatorial battles. In the first phase, the level of the orchestra was lowered again, which made the podium wall taller (c. 2 m). As in Thasos and Maroneia's theaters in the early 2nd century AD, wooden beams to support netting could be slotted into sockets behind the front of the podium (Fig. 30b). Moreover, marble sills were set in front of the *parodoi* to allow the installation of double-doored metal railings. Lastly, new relief decorations of deities (see below) like those in the metopes of Thasos' theater were added to the arch at the interior side of the western *parodos*. The dating of these inscribed reliefs to the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD is what led Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos and others to date the above changes to the same time.[22]

The transformation of the orchestra of Philippi's theater into a circular arena was completed not long after these changes, likely in the early 3rd century AD. The *scaena*'s stage was demolished, and the marble sill on the orchestra side of the theater's *parodoi* was extended in front of the scene building (Fig. 26b). On the sill was installed a curved marble barrier that was backed with a post and net system like that on the podium wall at the *cavea*'s base. In this barrier were set openings for gladiators and animal hunters (c. 2 – 3?) and, beside these, shorter ones for animals. These openings were closed with railings that were set into grooves and lowered into place (Fig. 30c). Similar railings were installed at the ends of the 2nd, 4th/ central, and 6th stairways that accessed the orchestra; the other stairways were closed. The double railing doors that had closed off the *parodoi* from the orchestra became single doors. Lastly an elevator shaft (7 m deep) was set into the orchestra's southern end (Fig. 31). It brought gladiators and wild animals into the orchestra-arena, the new wooden surface of which was raised slightly

[22] Adam-Veleni 2010, 83; Aristodemou 2015, 73-4; Collart 1937, 372, 377, 381; 1928, 97, 100, 102-3, 108, 118; Di Napoli 2018, 331; Gebhard 1975, 55; Gounaris and Gounari 2004, 30; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 277-9; 2006a, 104-6, 110; 2003a, 90; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2000, 23; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2016, 200; 2001, 75, 78-9, 82.

above that of the previous paved one. The elevator was accessed by a tunnel that began at the back wall of the *porticus post scaenam*'s central room and ran under the *scaena*. Similar elevators were attested in the theaters at Tralles, Magnesia ad Meander, and Sardis, which indicates the participation of Philippi's theater in wider, interregional architectural trends.[23]

Most likely rebuilt in Marcus Aurelius' *principate*, Philippi's agora would have been one of the other structures besides the theater that marked the city's success as an interactive hub by the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD. With the Via Egnatia on its northern side, the agora was accessible at its northern corners by two staircases (Fig. 32). On its east, west, and south sides, the agora's central courtyard (c. 50 x 100 m) was marked by steps leading up to porticos. The rooms behind the portico on the agora's southern side may have been shops, and public buildings were set behind the east and west porticos. These included tetrastyle prostyle buildings at the agora's northern corners, one of which may have been a *bouleuterium*; administrative rooms on its western side; and a library at the center of its eastern one. On the exterior of the agora's south side and reached by staircases at its southern corners was a two-story row of shops facing onto a street. The many spaces of Philippi's agora thus offered plentiful opportunities for various interactions among its city's inhabitants and visitors. As is discussed below, some of these interactions seem to have been brought about by interactions in Philippi's theater.[24]

Philippi's theater generally looked the same in the late 3rd – early 4th century AD. Its orchestra remained a full arena for gladiatorial performances and animal hunts. However, structural issues with the eastern half of the *cavea*'s rear wall apparently threatened the

[23] Adam-Veleni 2010, 83-4; Aristodemou 2015, 73; Collart 1937, 385-6; 1928, 103-5, 123; Di Napoli 2018, 331; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 277-9; 2006a, 107-10; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2016, 199-200, 202; 2006, 65-6; 2003a, 90; 2001, 78-9, 82; Zarmakoupi 2018, 283.

[24] Collart 1937, 328-35, 338, 340-1, 364; Gounaris and Gounari 2004, 47-50; Koukouli-Chyrsanthaki and Bakirtzis 2000, 38-41; Vickers 1970, 251; Zarmakoupi 2018, 281-2; Overall, Philippi's agora was 70 x 148 m. Between the staircases at the agora's northern side were a speaker's platform flanked by two long fountains.

entertainment venue since two arched buttresses were built against the wall when Philippi's fortifications were rebuilt (Fig. 26b). This update may have taken place around the beginning of the 3rd century AD's final quarter in response to the Goths' invasion of Macedonia in the middle of this century. While reinforcing the *cavea* was a practical measure, that it was undertaken indicates that to the Philippians the theater remained an important monument to their city's success, even at a time when greater costs arose from increased security concerns.[25]

More substantial modifications were also undertaken in Maroneia's theater at some point in the late 3rd century AD. One of these changes was the addition of walls on the inner sides of both *parodoi* that narrowed entrance into the orchestra, as in Philippi's theater in the early 3rd century AD (Fig. 9). Since the *analemmata* had been removed before the addition of these walls and since these walls were built using *analemmata*, *proedria*, seating, and cornice blocks from the theater, Karadima et al. suggest that the building had been "destroyed" slightly earlier. The *analemmata*'s absence does seem to have arisen from serious damage but perhaps from erosion rather than some larger event like an earthquake or enemy attack. As for the inclusion of blocks from other parts of the theater in the *parodoi*'s new walls, this could mean either that the *cavea* and *scaena* had been damaged or that blocks from them had been replaced following normal wear and tear, thus freeing up old blocks for reuse. The reuse of *proedria*, which had been removed from the theater in the late 1st – early 2nd century AD, could support this scenario.[26]

As in Philippi's theater, the *proscaenium* of Maroneia's was demolished to make the orchestra a larger arena. The podium at the base of the seating area was rebuilt. Instead of being

[25] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2016, 203-4; 2003a, 90; 2001, 79, 82; Provost 2001, 133.

[26] Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 282; 2006a, 99-101; Karadima et al. 2015, 262-3; It is odd that the *analemmata* were not rebuilt since the *cavea*'s sides thus did not have protection against erosion. Karadima et al. do not indicate that they found evidence (like a buttressed wooden barrier) that this deficit was addressed.

backed by a post and net system, it was surmounted by an iron railing that was fixed into sockets with lead. With the new walls at the ends of the *parodoi*, these changes to Maroneia's theater in the late 3rd century AD were intended to better allow the entertainment venue to host gladiatorial combats and animal hunts, as in Philippi's theater earlier. This shows that at the beginning of Late Antiquity, these performances and the other interactions they afforded remained as important to urban life in Thrace as they were to that in Macedonia at cities like Philippi.[27]

The regular structural updates to Philippi's theater from the late 1st through early 4th century AD suggest that the entertainment venue was an important participant in the various kinds of interactions that made up its local urban network. As to what exactly this participation entailed, the theater's architectural details and artifacts and spaces found in its surroundings provide some insight. This evidence shows by what means and with what effects the building shaped its urban landscape as a cultural, political, religious, and economic space.

The Cultural Function of Philippi's Theater

At the end of the 1st century AD, Philippi's theater was equipped to host gladiatorial battles and animal hunts as well as dramatic performances. As a cultural building, the theater had gained a greater capacity to inform the values of spectators and performers who came to Philippi from near and far. As has already been noted, dramatic performances gained an elaborate background in the form of a two-story *scaenae frons* with decorative Ionic and Corinthian columns, ornate architrave moldings, and a statuary program. Also, as in the theaters at Thasos and Maroneia, the *scaena* of Philippi's theater most likely had a tall stage and a *proscaenium*

[27] Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 282; 2006a, 99-101; Karadima et al. 2015, 262-3; The foundations of the *proscaenium*'s front wall were preserved under the newly raised floor level of the orchestra.

with engaged columns and *pinakes*.[28] In these theaters, then, performers both on-stage and in the orchestra would have been highlighted by scenic backdrops that helped to convey dramatic performances' messages. The addition of new sculpture to the *scaenae frons* over time and the replacement of *pinakes* between particular shows would have introduced further variability to the values the theaters at Philippi, Thasos, and Maroneia helped to promote.

For instance, in their ornateness alone, the expensive stone, columnar facades, variously themed statuary, and colorful *pinakes* of these theaters' *scaenae frontes* were prominent expressions of their cities' prosperity. As such, they underscored that the performances taking place in front of them came from this success as well. These elaborate backdrops thus established leisure's value as a morale-boosting activity because it was in essence prosperity in action. In other words, backed by visually-striking *scaenae frontes*, performances in Philippi, Thasos, and Maroneia's theaters conveyed to spectators and performers alike that these cities and their hinterlands were free from internal and external strife. These cities' communities could afford to allocate significant human, material, and financial resources to causes, like a theater's decoration and public entertainments, that were not driven by necessity.[29]

The *scaenae frons* of Philippi's theater also had a narrow frieze of ivy vines interspersed with tragic theater masks on its lower architrave. One thing this frieze communicated in its imagery was how leisure and vivacity are mutually reinforcing.[30] A draped female statue found in the theater is the only remnant of the *scaenae frons*' over-life-size statuary program. Although

[28] Later modifications to *scaena* make it unclear if it had a tall stage and *proscaenium*. It does not seem that remains of engaged columns or *pinakes* from a *proscaenium* have been discovered in excavations.

[29] Beacham 1999, 28-9

[30] Collart 1937, 374; 1928, 92, 94-5; Collart notes how similar architrave decorations were found in Pergamon's theater; one portion of frieze is decorated with seven comic masks of two alternating types with garlands strung between each pair. Another fragmented frieze shows a series of three tragic masks and one comic one that are likewise strung together with garlands. A similar frieze of masks and garlands was found in Ephesus' theater.

the lack of a head makes its identification unclear, it has been interpreted as a Muse.[31] If this attribution is correct, this figure was also able to endorse leisure as beneficial to urban life. Additionally, it would have helped to promote the value of a specific artistic pursuit (e.g. poetry, history, comedy, or tragedy) and of the various ideas that were associated with each, such as cultivating natural talent (*ingenium*) or learning from past successes and mistakes (*exempla*).

Besides providing backdrops that participated thematically in actors' actions on-stage or in the orchestra, the scene building of Philippi's theater also simply would have allowed the venue to host a variety of dramatic performances. There would have been plenty of space for actor prep and the storage of costumes, props, and scenery inside the scene building, although the exact division of the space is unknown (Figs. 25 – 26). Moreover, like in the theaters at Thasos and Maroneia, the scene building highlighted individual or small groups of actors on its stage but left plenty of orchestra space for choruses and dances. The theater was thus able to support comedies and tragedies based on or reproducing the works of Greek playwrights, choral song and dance with musical accompaniment, and comic and tragic mimes and pantomimes.

A Latin epitaph on a sarcophagus found near Philippi at modern Drama provides plausible confirmation that mimes were performed in the theater. Dated to the 1st century AD, the epitaph records how T. Uttiedius Venerianus the archmime, attendant to a city official (an *officialis*), and procurer of actors for dramatic performances dedicated the sarcophagus for his deceased wife Alfena Saturnina.[32] Not only could Venerianus have performed in the theater as a

[31] Collart 1937, 374; 1928, 75, 90; Heuzey and Daumet 1876, 67-9; Koukouli-Chyrsanthaki and Karadedos 2016, 196; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 276; It was L. Heuzey who found the draped female body in the theater and first identified it as a Muse. He also supposedly found other bits of statuary, all of which are in the Louvre. Excavations in 1921 in the orchestra found more sculptural fragments from the *scaenae frons*.

[32] *CIL* III 6113; 7343; HD 050216; *ILS* 5208; Bieber 1961, 165; Collart 1937, 272-3; 1928, 118; Heuzey and Daumet 1876, 145, #76; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2016, 199; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 276-7; Pilhofer 2000, 459-63, #476; *T(itus) Uttiedius Venerianus/ archimim(us) Latinus et of(f)i/ cialis an(nos) XXXVII promisthota an(nos)/ XVIII vixit an(nos) LXXV vivos(!) sibi et/ Alfen(a)e Saturninae*

mime, but he was also a director of a mime troupe. Mimes were seemingly among the actors he hired for the city. More importantly, the sarcophagus and its inscription are evidence that the theater contributed to Philippi's growth by promoting cultural values. Venerianus proclaims his profession as an archmime and a provider of actors because he thought it would help to present him and his deceased wife as respectable to those who read the sarcophagus' epitaph and encountered Venerianus in person. As for what ideas made these jobs respectable, the theater in which Venerianus showcased his work would have promoted these ideas. Possible ideas include the cultivation of professional skill of the kind Venerianus exemplified and the salutatory effects of artistic expression and leisure, which Venerianus helped to bring to Philippi.

Collart posits that dramatic performances were no longer accommodated in Philippi's theater after its *proscaenium* was replaced with a marble barrier to turn the orchestra into a full arena. While there is no evidence to refute this possibility, it is equally possible that dramatic performances like mimes and pantomimes continued to be performed in the orchestra-arena.[33] At the same time, however, the transformation of the theater's orchestra into a circular arena does at least indicate that gladiatorial battles and particularly animal hunts had become the Philippians' preferred forms of public entertainment by the early 3rd century AD.

Before this time, the orchestra would have been able to accommodate gladiatorial games and animal hunts but not as well as they could later. Before the orchestra was deepened in the late 2nd century AD, the podium wall at its base would have been tall enough (1.10 m) to accommodate all kinds of gladiatorial battles as well as hunts of animals with low jumping

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coniugi suae be/ ne de se meritae/ Alfena Saturnina an(norum) LI/ h(aec) a(rca) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur). (Titus Uttiedius Venerianus, the Latin archmime and official for 37 years and procurer of actors for 18 years, is 75 years old. He dedicated this altar for himself and Alfena Saturnina, his well-deserving wife. Alfena Saturnina lived 51 years. They have no heir.) As Collart notes, *promisthota = locator scaenicorum*.

[33] Collart 1937, 120, 123; 1928, 103, 105-6; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2006a, 106.

abilities, such as bulls and bears.[34] Depending on these animals' type and size, however, the podium wall between the late 1st and late 2nd century AD still may not have been tall enough to completely deter them from trying to jump or climb it when scared. Without a netting system the wall certainly would not have been able to protect spectators from high-jumping animals like deer and big cats.[35] In addition, there was no purpose-built way to introduce animals into the orchestra. They either would have been introduced via the *parodoi* or through doorways in the *proscaenium*, which likely would have made for a more exciting scene.

After the structural changes implemented between the late 2nd and early 3rd century AD, the theater's orchestra was better able to facilitate and frame animal hunts. Increased to twice its original height, surmounted by a netting system, and extended around the orchestra, the podium wall afforded spectators greater protection and animal hunters safer and more efficient ways to introduce animals into the orchestra. While all these changes were practical, by highlighting the danger posed by animal hunts they would have raised spectators' interest in this form of entertainment. The elevator shaft installed in the orchestra underscores this intended effect. The elevator was practical; it allowed for the easy transfer of animals into the arena from the tunnel that led under the center of the scene building from the *porticus post scaenam.* By introducing an

[34] As with arenas across the Roman Empire, it is highly unlikely that a gladiator would have tried to escape a battle by climbing an arena wall, even if he could have done so. First, he would not have made it far given the large seated crowd, and second, this attempt would have exposed him to an attack from his opponent.

[35] Jennison 2005, 155-6; Paige 2008 notes how cattle in the modern USA, which are generally bigger than those of the ancient Mediterranean, can be contained by a fence c. 2 ft (c. 0.6 m) tall (2008, 18). Deer and elk, however, ideally require a fence c. 7-8 ft. tall (c. 2-2.5 m; 2008, 35). According to https://www.mountainlion.org (/portalprotectfences.php), North American mountain lions require a fence 10-12 ft tall (c. 3-3.5 m), preferably with an outward overhang at the top. Whatever the height of a podium wall and netting system in a Roman arena, the hunter was the audience's first line of defense since it was his job to hold the animal's attention and thus forestall any escape attempts. This information is supported by Jennison, who writes that a solid wooden podium around an arena was tall enough to contain heavy animals like cattle, bears, and boars but that such a podium surmounted by a net with an overhang needed to be 11-12 ft tall to contain carnivores like leopards.

enraged animal into the center of the orchestra seemingly out of nowhere, though, the elevator would have bolstered the excitement that spectators felt with these animals' appearances.

By generating more interest in animal hunts, the newly refitted orchestra – arena was better equipped to accentuate the concepts that animal hunts conveyed to spectators and performers. Such ideas likely included that order needed to be imposed on the chaos that was nature and that bravery and martial prowess were desirable qualities, especially in the face of adversity. The orchestra's more efficient accommodation of animal hunts also simply allowed it to garner more support for *otium* among Philippi's inhabitants and visitors. While the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD changes to Philippi's theater favored animal hunts, they still gave gladiators a more elaborate arena and new ways to enter the orchestra. These changes therefore would have better encouraged people to value the traits or behaviors exhibited in gladiatorial battles as well.

That Philippi's theater promoted various values to spectators and performers through gladiatorial battles and animal hunts is seen in monuments found across Philippi and its hinterland. These monuments are thus further evidence for how the theater shaped its urban landscape as a cultural space. An epitaph dedicated to an elite from Philippi that was found at the nearby village of Raktcha is an example. The elite man funded seven gladiator pairings and four animal hunts in Philippi's theater, at which event he also distributed saffron among spectators.[36] As in Venerianus' case, this monument casts the providing of games as an act deemed respectable by the deceased's family and Philippi's people in general. Since the distribution of a luxury spice receives mention, the implied reason for this respectability seems to be that such games were desirable and beneficial because they afforded people a morale boost through

[36] Collart 1937, 383; 1928, 107-8; Ducros 2018, 344; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 280; 2006a, 111; Salač 1923, 86, # 4; The fragmentary inscription, which is seemingly dated generally to the 2nd-3rd century AD, reads: … *Iuli Fidei (?) Manli Ba[sci]la et Gai…/ sua paria VII pugna[ve]ru(n)t Philippi[s…]/ ucno (?) IIII venatio[nes…] na et crocis sparsi[t arenam ?...].*

leisure. The funerary monument from Raktcha is thus a tangible expression of how the theater shaped its surrounding landscape by promoting *otium* as a vital aspect of urban life.

Another funerary monument that was found reused in a threshold of Basilica B seemingly commemorated an animal hunter and gladiator. The extant fragment of the sarcophagus bears most of a dedicatory inscription and three relief scenes (Fig. 33). To the left of the Greek inscription is a relief of the so-called "Thracian horseman" advancing toward a tree with a serpent wrapped around it. The other two reliefs are at the bottom of the inscription; one shows a gladiator before a crowd, and the other shows a lightly armored fighter with a spear in his hands approaching two big cats set one behind the other. These last two reliefs seem to indicate that the deceased was an animal hunter and gladiator. When viewed with what would have been the well-known heroic imagery of the Thracian horseman, the image of a lone animal hunter facing two predatory cats would have conveyed well that the deceased and his family and friends wanted viewers to remember him for his courage and professional training.[37]

The inscription only notes general information about the deceased, but it does so in verse and with lofty diction. It relates that he died having done his job (*πράξεις ἐτέλεσσα*) or, as Paul Lemerle suggests, "having accomplished his fate." The inscription also highlights that the deceased was from a good family (*εὐσέμου δὲ γένους καὶ ἐνδ[όξου]*). It includes the rhetorical flair that he was fated to die how and where he did (*Δαίμων δέ με κέλευσε θανεῖν κλυτῆς ἐπὶ γαίης*), which paints him as a hero.[38] It is plausible, then, that the deceased was a free-born

[37] Collart 1937, 382; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2016, 202; 2007, 279-80; 2006a, 110; Lemerle 1935, 148-51, #42, Pl. V; Philippi museum # Λ2638; The extant piece of the sarcophagus is 0.66 m tall and 1.55 long.

[38] Collart 1937, 382; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 280; Lemerle 1935, 149-50, #42, Pl. V; The first line of the inscription is badly damaged. What remains of the following seven lines is a follows: *]ατι τούτων πράξεις ἐτέλεσσα εὐσήμου δὲ γένους καὶ ἐνδ[όξου./ Ἡράσθη δὲ ἑτέρων τις ἀνὴρ κἀγὼ πάνυ τούτου./ Δαίμων δέ με κέλευσε θανεῖν κλυτῆς ἐπὶ γαίης,/ Κτίσματος Φιλίπποιο καὶ Αὐγούστου βασιλῆος,/ Εὐστεφίης τειχῶν · ἔλιπον φάος τὸ φλυκὺ κόσμου./ Εἰ δ' ἕτερον κατάθοι τις ἀνὴρ ἐμῶ ἐνὶ τύμβω, δώσι/ τῶ ταμείω ∗ λβ προστίμου.* (I, who am of a distinguished and worthy family, died having done my job. However any man found his passion, that's how I found

animal hunter and gladiator who wished to be remembered for his skills and the courage he showed in exercising them. Produced because Philippi's theater promoted these ideas as values to audiences and performers, this monument would have further promoted them to its viewers.

The Political Function of Philippi's Theater

The three funerary monuments discussed above as products of the theater's cultural function also draw attention to how the theater helped to shape its urban landscape as a space for political interactions. Venerianus; the unnamed provider of *munera*, *venationes*, and saffron; and the unnamed animal hunter-gladiator all referenced their connections to Philippi's theater in their monuments so that they and/or their families could confirm their place in Philippi's hierarchy of wealth and profession and their inclusion in the civic community. The different backgrounds of each individual highlight that the theater could convey a range of political messages based on how people encountered one another during public festivals.

From the theater's first use in the mid-4th century BC, it was clear who Philippi's wealthiest and most influential inhabitants were. They were granted the right to sit in the rows of seats closest to the orchestra in exchange for spending their wealth on the city as its political and religious leaders. They also most likely had larger seats. When the podium wall was erected around the orchestra in the late 1st and heightened in the late 2nd century AD, it physically underscored the high social status of the lowest rows' occupants, both to spectators in higher rows and to performers in the orchestra. At the beginnings and ends of festivals, processions into the theater also would have highlighted VIPs as they took the best seating positions at the bottom

mine. A demon called me to die splendidly in this land, built by Philip and King Augustus, crowned with walls. The sweet light of the universe left me. If anyone should inter another in my tomb, he should pay a fee to the treasury.)

of the *cavea*.[39] These VIPs were game-givers like the man commemorated in the epitaph from Raktcha, priests of the gods to which games were dedicated, and Philippi's *duoviri*. It is in these ways that Philippi's theater ensured that its city's elites were in the limelight and thus conveyed the importance to its local urban network of a hierarchy based on wealth, office-holding, etc.

Monuments found at Philippi that are dedicated to game-givers (a *munerarius* or *ἀγωνοθέτης*) demonstrate that the theater promoted this message. For the same reason, these monuments were able to bolster competition and a sense of community among Philippi's elites. One such game-giver was Q. Flavius Hermadion (son of Q. Flavius Hermadion), to whom a group of worshippers (*οἱ θρησκευτὲ*) dedicated a statue in the first half of the 3rd century AD. Found reused in one of Philippi's basilicas, the statue's base honors Hermadion as an *ἀγωνοθέτης* of a set of games for Asklepios. For the worshippers (seemingly of Asklepios) who publicly honored Hermadion with his statue, the man's use of his wealth and public offices to benefit his city through games entitled him to the whole city's respect. The base of Hermadion's statue seems to convey the same message with regard to his father since its inscription calls attention to the older Hermadion's roles as gymnasiarch and high priest, either of the imperial cult of Philippi's cults. Both roles strongly suggest that the older Hermadion provided games in Philippi's theater as well. Thus, Q. Flavius Hermadion's statue seemingly memorialized a whole local elite family (perhaps with extensive regional ties) whose renown and identity were significantly reinforced by public appearances at and patronage of the theater.[40]

[39] As yet there is no explicit evidence from Philippi for processions that inaugurated performances in the theater. Such processions, however, were standard features of public entertainments across the Roman Empire (see Coleman 2000 and 2011, Dodge 2011, Remijsen 2015, and Skotheim 2016, for example).

[40] Collart 1937, 448, 451; Lemerle 1935, 140-5, 147, #40-1; The inscription reads: *Κο. Φλάβιον Ἑρ/ μαδίωνα υἱὸν/ Κο. Φλαβίου/ Ἑρμαδίωνος/ τοῦ κρα(τίστου) γυμνα/ σιάρχου κα[ὶ]/ ἀρχιερέως/ οἱ θρησκευ/ τὲ τὸν ἴδιον/ ἀγωνοθέτην/ τῶν μεγάλων/ Ἀσκληπείων.* (The worshippers honor Q. Flavius Harmadion, son of Q. Flavius Harmadion the greatest gymnasiarch and high priest, their own game-giver of the Great Asklepeia.) I would like to thank James Rives for

The cult of Isis and Serapis honored another game-giver (*munerarius*) L. Valerius Voltus Priscus, son of Lucius, around the same time as Hermadion's statue was dedicated. Judging from the find location of its base, the statue appears to have been set up among others along the street on the agora's southern exterior side. Besides honoring Priscus for using his public standing and wealth to dedicate games, Philippi's followers of Isis and Serapis also call attention to Priscus' roles as a high priest of their cult, a decurion, and a *duovir*. Priscus' statue thus highlights his renown as a benefactor and important local religious and civic leader.[41]

Thus, as physical memorials to Hermadion's and Voltus Priscus' attendance at the games they financed, these honorific monuments stood to promote the same ideas to elites and non-elites as these men's attendance had. One idea is that a hierarchy with few elite families at the top was beneficial to Philippi's success. Another is that these elite families constituted a select sub-community, good standing in which depended on frequent high-profile services to the city. Two other monuments that mention game-givers and that date to the 2nd – 3rd century AD convey these ideas as well. One is an honorific stele found south of Philippi's forum on which Varinia Macedonia and Varinia Procula commemorate their father Varinius, the *duovir* and *munerarius*.[42] The second monument from modern Drama is funerary. In this monument's inscription, the Philippian *decurio*, *duovir* and *munerarius* C. Vibius Florus memorializes his deceased five-year-old son C. Vibius Daphnus. Daphnus' young age indicates that he was

his assistance with this inscription. Lemerle contends that "the worshippers" in the inscriptions were followers of Isis and Serapis.

[41] Collart 1937, 273, 364, 383, 447; Lemerle 1937; *L. Valerio L. fil./ Volt. Prisco/ orn. Dec. hon./ dec. irenar. IIvi/ r. iur. d. munera/ rio cultores/ deor. Serapis [et]/ Isidis*.

[42] HD 022020; Lemerle 1937, 413-4, #6; ? *[Varin]ịọ ? [F(ilio)]/ [Vol(tinia) Mạcedọ[ni]/ [aeḍ(ili)] q(uaestori) IIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) Pḥ[ilip]/ [Pis] munerari[o II]/ [Pup]illae Vari[niae]/ [M]ạcedonia et Prọ[cula]/ [P]ạtri ex testam(ento) eius [f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)]*. The middle section of this stele survives, so the top line of its inscription and its right and left sides are missing; it measures 1.03 m tall and 0.67 m wide.

awarded decurial status (*ornamentis decurionalibus honoratus*) because of his father's high public standing at Philippi. Thus, the mention of this status emphasizes that the boy's funerary marker doubled as a commemoration of his father and family's renown and identity, both of which the marker links to positions that would have made C. Vibius Florus a regular and prominent spectator at and patron of Philippi's theater.[43]

As for the spectators who sat in the theater arrayed behind esteemed persons such as Hermodion, Voltus Priscus, Varinius, and Vibius Florus, they would have been aware of their own relative status based on their distance from the orchestra. For example, given that Venerianus was a former actor but one that had gained a fair level of wealth and standing from his position as a provider of actors for Philippi, he and his wife likely sat toward the lower middle of the *cavea*. For people of humbler means and professions who sat at the back of the *cavea*, their relatively low social status also would have been emphasized by how long it took them to ascend to their seats from the orchestra. There was seemingly no other way to reach the *cavea*'s rear before the second tier of seats was added in the late 2nd century AD. Once it was, those who sat in this higher tier closest to the *epitheatron* and farthest from the orchestra would have been marked as the lowest in social status of those assembled in the theater (Figs. 25 – 26).

The theater also articulated the relationship between performers and spectators by keeping the two groups separate. Whereas spectators entered the theater through the *parodoi* and the *epitheatron* and generally stayed in the *cavea*, performers and the staff associated with their troupes worked in the *scaena* and orchestra, both of which they entered separately from

[43] *CIL* III 659; Collart 1937, 273; 1928, 108; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 280; 2006a, 111-2; *C(aius) Vibius C(ai) fil(ius) Volt(inia)/ Daphnus/ orn(amentis) dec(urionalibus)/ hon(oratus) an(norum) V m(ensium) IX h(ic)/ s(itus) e(st)/ C(aius) Vibius C(ai) fil(ius)/ Vol(tinia) Florus dec(urio)/ IIvir et munerarius Philippis/ f(ilio) kariss(imo) f(aciendum) c(uravit).* Another fragmentary inscription from Kavala is dedicated to yet another *munerarius* (*CIL* III 659-60).

spectators. They entered the *scaena* through the doorways at the top of the large staircases at both of the *scaena*'s ends; north of both of these doorways were side entrances onto the stage, which was likely also accessible from inside the *scaena* (Fig. 26). At the base of the *scaena*'s side staircases were vaulted passageways that led under the stage until it was destroyed in the early 3rd century AD. It was most likely from the *proscaenium* that performers regularly entered the orchestra, although it is also possible that they used the *parodoi* after the spectators had taken their seats. From the early 3rd century AD, performers would have accessed the orchestra through the entrances in the new wall set before the *scaena*, via the elevator below the orchestra-arena, and, again, possibly through the *parodoi*.[44]

On the one hand, the separation of spectators and performers could have underscored that the latter were generally looked down upon by the former because their professions made them subject to others' wills and thus shameful (*infames*). Performers were also most often slaves and were of low economic means.[45] On the other hand, because performers could win admiration for their professional skill and showmanship, their physical separation from spectators in the theater could have further promoted feelings of respect toward performers. This sentiment not only would have counteracted their established place toward the bottom of Philippi's hierarchy, but it also would have bolstered performers' own sense of community among themselves.

One monument that can be attributed to the mediation of Philippi's theater in this regard is the sarcophagus that T. Uttiedius Venerianus dedicated to his wife. Venerianus highlighted his jobs as an archmime and the person who found actors for Philippi because he thought that

[44] Marshall 2006, 35-6; "Indeed, the huge *scaenae frons* and the long narrow stage of the permanent theatre serve to reinforce [the separation between actors and spectators]."

[45] Wistrand 1992, 39; Vagalinski 2009, 86-8; As was laid out in the *Lex Aelia Sentia* in 4 AD, gladiators were *infames* and had the status of *peregrini dediticii*, essentially that of people who had been enslaved in foreign wars. As Flaig (2007, 84) conveys this idea rather dramatically, "the line of demarcation that was drawn between *cavea* and *arena* was merciless; on one side the outlaws performed, on the other the citizens sat and watched."

viewers of his wife's sarcophagus who were not actors would respond favorably. Since he emphasizes his and his wife's connections to the other actors at Philippi, his monument is also in part an outcome of the theater strengthening a sense of community among these performers.

The sarcophagus that held an animal hunter-gladiator is another product of the theater's capacity to generate esteem for and a sense of community among performers. The animal hunt relief suggests that the dedicator thought this detail would garner further favor for the deceased among passersby. The monument shows a sense of community among Philippi's animal hunters and their loved ones through the favorable and poetic way the dedicator honored the deceased.

Further evidence for the theater's capacity to help build an anti-hierarchical sense of respect for Philippi's performers among spectators are the reliefs that were carved on the inner archway of the western *parodos* in the early 3rd century AD. They depict Nemesis, Victory, and Mars and so attest to on way by which the theater promoted the worship of traditional Roman deities, as is discussed below. The same inscription was inscribed over all three reliefs: "M. Velleius Zosimus, priest of the invincible Nemesis, on behalf of the guild of the hunters' friends made these images of the gods with his own funds."[46] As Georgia Aristodemou points out, the *φιλοκυνηγοί* in the inscription were not *κυνηγέτες* but rather seem to have been amateur hunters (*iuvenes*) who, judging from the placement of the reliefs, were fans of the professional hunters. Along with being a material outcome of this esteem, the reliefs also became another way by which the *φιλοκυνηγοί* could promote themselves and their favorite kind of performer.[47] Zosimus was seemingly a member of this amateur hunters' guild; his gift of a decoration for the theater

[46] Aristodemou 2015, 74; Chapouthier 1925, 239-44; 1924, 287-302; Collart 1937, 383-4; 1928, 75, 108-12; Di Napoli 2018, 331; Ducros 2018, 347; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2016, 202; 2007, 279; 2006a, 110; The inscription reads: *M. Βελλεῖος Ζώσι[μος/ ἱερεὺς τῆς ἀνεικήτου Νεμ[έσε]/ ως ὑπὲρ φιλοκυνηγῶν τοῦ στέ[μ]/ μα/ τος/ τὰ ἀφυ/ δρεύ/ ματα τῶ / ν θεῶν/ ἐκκ τῶν ἰ/ δίων ἐ/ ποίης/ εν.*

[47] Aristodemou 2015, 80-1; Hornum 1993, 70-1; She notes how similar groups existed at cities such as Philippopolis, Thasos, Tomis, Corinth, and Pergamon.

indicates that his attendance at games had previously boosted his elite standing at Philippi. Additionally, then, the reliefs became a further way by which spectators who entered the theater via the western *parodos* could recognize his credentials as one of Philippi's leading citizens.

While the theater emphasized political differences among the spectators and performers who had assembled in it, it was equally well-equipped to help build an overall sense of civic community among them. After all, the theater was the only place at Philippi where such a large cross-section of the city's population would have interacted so closely and for a sustained amount of time. Thus, the entertainment venue would have had a democratizing effect on its city's political interactions that was strongest during performances but still active between festivals when people encountered the theater as a civic monument.

The theater's ability to endorse a shared sense of civic pride was manifested in its *cavea* through inscribed names. Extant examples come from the lowest few seating rows and include Latin names on the front and Greek ones on the top surface of the second row at the middle of the *cavea*. Such inscriptions were likely spread across the seating area's lowest few rows and seemingly required formal permission since they are large and well-carved. Designating "seats" for particular individuals, the extant name inscriptions represent how some Philippians (in this case wealthy ones) felt such a sense of belonging to their city while in the theater that they claimed a share of the public building for themselves.[48]

The theater's capacity to promote a shared civic identity was manifested more visibly outside the building in the construction of surrounding spaces. Roads leading to both *parodoi* and a square south of the theater would have existed since the theater's construction in the mid-4th century BC, but they were most likely updated each time the theater itself was. The square in

[48] Collart 1937, 377; Perhaps there were also less formal examples of these inscriptions that were carved surreptitiously during performances.

particular was likely made more elaborate when the *porticus post scaenam* was installed in the late 1st century AD to provide a covered gathering space for crowds. This would have been the purpose of the *epitheatron* as well. Moreover, a stoa was built for the same reason directly southwest of the theater in the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD. It opened toward the north and so structurally articulated the approach to the theater's western *parodos*; the stoa likely played a role in processions that opened festivals at Philippi.[49] All these spaces afforded opportunities for Philippians from different walks of life to interact outside of the theater. Thus, as projects undertaken by Philippi's leaders with the consent of the rest of its people, these spaces reflect that the theater was seen as a space in which civic identity was bolstered. They would have contributed to the theater's mediation in Philippi's political interactions in this regard.

The Religious Function of Philippi's Theater

Philippi's theater was also able to help build senses of community among spectators and performers as a space for religious interactions. The theater provided its city's inhabitants and visitors opportunities to contemplate various deities who were invoked at performances. Remains of the theater's sculptural decoration, epigraphic mentions of deities in connection with performances game-givers, and shrines near the theater offer examples of these deities. Monuments from Philippi that bear images of these deities – particularly of Nemesis – attest to the theater's capacity to inspire support for their cults in its urban landscape.

The deities represented in the theater's decoration were invoked most regularly. If Heuzey identified the draped female statue found in the orchestra correctly, these deities included some or all nine of the Muses. As is noted above, invocations of the Muses would have

[49] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2016, 198; 2007, 279; 2006, 61-2.

led spectators and performers to think about how these goddesses patronized the various arts practiced in the theater and at Philippi in general.

The other deities depicted in the theater, in the reliefs on the interior archway of the western *parodos*, are Ares, Nike, and Nemesis. Ares faces the orchestra on the archway's southern pillar; he wears a cuirass and a plumed helmet, carries a short sword at his waist, and holds a phiale in his right hand and a shield and spear in his left (Fig. 34a). Nike is depicted on the same pillar as Ares but faces the archway's opposite pillar. Winged, she stands on a globe and wears a belted peplos with her right breast exposed; she holds a palm branch in the left hand and extends a victory wreath to her right (Fig. 34b). There are two reliefs of Nemesis: one on the archway's northern pillar facing the relief of Nike and the other on the archway's keystone facing the orchestra. The former is dressed in a belted peplos, leans on her left foot, and holds a scale in her left hand and a measuring stick in her right; a wheel is positioned against her right leg (Fig. 34c). The latter Nemesis wears a chiton and a himation and is accompanied by the same attributes, although the measuring stick and the scale are switched (Fig. 34d).[50]

Similar reliefs were added to the *proscaenium* of Thasos' theater in the second half of the 2nd century AD. This hints at close connections between Philippi and Thasos at this time and implies that the two cities' populations conceived similarly of their theaters as religious spaces. Three metope reliefs depict Dionysos on a panther, Ares, and the Thracian horseman (Fig. 8).[51]

[50] Aristodemou 2015, 74-5; Collart 1928, 109-12; Di Napoli 2018, 331; Ducros 2018, 347; Hornum 1993, 62; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2016, 213-5; 2007, 279; 2006a, 110; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2000, 24; The lower Nemesis is of the Rhamnous type. A bucranium is on the opposite side of the keystone from the other Nemesis.

[51] Adam-Veleni 2010, 88, 158; Aristodemou 2015, 76; Bonias and Marc 2016, 250; Di Napoli 2018, 327; Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 107; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 281; Dionysos relief (Thasos Arch. Mus., Inv. #68; Salviat 1960, 300, 314-5, Fig. 1, 3, 8; Holtzmann 1994, 108-9 no. 40, pl. XXXVa), Mars, Thracian rider (Istanbul Arch. Mus., Inv. #382; Salviat 1960, 300, 314-5, Fig. 4, 8; Holtzmann 1994, 108, 109-11, no. 41, pl. XXXVb).

Three other reliefs that have been attributed to the western side of the *proscaenium* depict Nemesis. Two show the goddess much as she appears in Philippi's theater; in one relief, for example, the difference is that Nemesis holds a measuring stick in her left hand and the neckline of her peplos (the "Nemesis gesture") with her other one. The third relief is divided between two rectangular niches. In the left niche is a winged Nemesis that wears a cuirass, holds scales and sword, and has a wheel below her feet. In the right niche are twin renditions of the goddess that exhibit the "Nemesis gesture" with their right hand and hold a measuring stick in their left.[52]

At the edge of the western *parodos*, the reliefs of Ares, Nike, and Nemesis in Philippi's theater were located at a liminal space for spectators who sat in the *cavea*'s lowest rows and for performers who entered the orchestra from this direction. Thus, by passing through this informal shrine, these viewers would have been prompted to think about what the three deities and their connections to animal hunts and gladiatorial battles meant for themselves and their city. Although Zosimus' inscription implies that Ares, Nike, and Nemesis were invoked in the theater only as patrons of animal hunts, the values the gods represent indicate that they were divine patrons of gladiatorial battles, too. Both forms of entertainment endorsed the martial skill and courage represented by Ares, the determination and success by Nike, and the fairness in judgment by Nemesis. Like the similar sculptural representations in Thasos' theater, then, the

[52] Adam-Veleni 2010, 88, 158; Aristodemou 2015, 76-7, Figs. 7a-c; Collart 1928, 111-2; Ducros 2018, 347; Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 108; Hornum 1993, 45, 64; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 281; Nemesis relief 1 (Thasos Arch. Mus., Inv. #584; *IG* XII 8, 371; Bernard and Salviat 1962, 600 #C, Fig. 19-21; Hornum 1993, 61, 64, 72 (Appendix II #105); Holtzmann 1994, 150 Cat. #91, pl. LIIIc), Nemesis relief 2 (Istanbul Arch. Mus., Inv. #378; Bernard and Salviat 1962, 598-600, Fig. 18, 603; Hornum 1993, 12, 45, pl. XVIII (inscription: 62, 72, Appendix II #106); Holtzmann 1994, 150 cat. no. 90, pl. LIIIb; Schweitzer 1931, 212), Nemesis relief 3 (Istanbul Arch. Mus., Inv. #171, 915; Bernard and Salviat 1962, 598-600, Fig. 17; Hornum 1993, 64, pl. XXII; Holtzmann 1994, 149 Cat. #89, pl. LIIIa; Schweitzer 1931, 212).

images of Ares, Nike, and Nemesis in Philippi's theater would have conveyed how these deities' favor was necessary if the city and its people wanted to be strong, brave, prosperous, and just.[53]

Given who these gods were, this exhortation to properly maintain their worship also would have included an appeal to maintain Philippi and Macedonia' participation in the Roman Empire. Since Ares-Mars was one of Rome's favored divine patrons, his image in the theater included the message that Philippi and Macedonia's military might came through allegiance to Rome. Nike is depicted as she is on Philippi's coins, on which she is labelled *Victoria Augusta*. Nike's relief thus similarly conveyed that the city and province's safety and prosperity was linked to that of the Empire. The images of Nemesis constituted an endorsement of Roman imperial authority because for Philippi and Macedonia Roman armies and laws were the guarantors of the concepts for which she stood (justice and order).[54]

People's contemplation of these deities in the theater along the aforementioned lines was expressed in dedications that stood to further promote their cults. One such dedication was an image of Nemesis on what has been interpreted as a funerary marker (2nd – 3rd century AD). Carved to the left of an image of the Thracian horseman, Nemesis appears as she does in the

[53] Aristodemou 2015, 80; Bateman 2009, 158-9; Collart 1937, 410; 1928, 108; Hornum 1993, 46-8, 50, 52-3, 56-9; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2006, 70-1; Zeleski 2014, 597; Hornum argues convincingly that when Nemesis was worshipped across the Roman Empire beginning in the 1st but largely in the 2nd – 3rd centuries AD, she was associated exclusively with gladiatorial battles and animal hunts. He demonstrates how across the Mediterranean, dedications to Nemesis are only found in cities where these performances were hosted. When these dedications can be connected to performers, they are gladiators, animal hunters, and junior animal hunters (*iuvenes*). As for what the goddess stood for, Hornum notes that it was propriety in human and divine-human relations (87).

[54] Aristodemou 2015, 81; Bateman 2009, 159, 162; Collart 1937, 410-1; Hornum 1993, 84, 90; Hornum argues that Nemesis became the exclusive patron of *munera* and *venationes* because they represented Roman imperial authority more so than other performance type. One of his supports is that they were more "intimately connected with the state, and were held under state auspices." Both points can be said about all Roman public entertainments, however. His second support is that most performers "were perceived as enemies of the established order," by which he means enslaved criminals and former prisoners of war. He does not mention, however, how other gladiators were freedmen or freeborn. Thus, Nemesis was likely the exclusive patron of gladiatorial battles and animal hunts for another reason. One big possibility is that, as entertainments that most resembled life or death situations, they potently recalled ideas of vengeance, justice, and order. Although Nemesis is not directly associated with life and death in literary or epigraphic sources, as Hornum notes, this does not preclude that this association was internalized.

keystone relief in the theater.[55] Since it is unknown if this was a funerary monument or a votive one and since an inscription is absent, it is unclear what these images may have meant to their dedicator beyond the standard concepts these deities represented. Nemesis is also honored in a votive tablet from Philippi that shows her holding a measuring stick in her bent left arm and extending an egg over an altar with her right one; a wheel is at her left leg.[56]

Besides the Muses, Ares, Nike, and Nemesis, other deities that were encountered in Philippi's theater are known from appearances in decorations directly outside the entertainment venue. The most notable of these was Dionysos, whose followers and attributes were presented on the eight piers of the *porticus post scaenam*. Each pier bore a large relief field that pictured a solitary figure (maenads and a running man are extant) and a smaller field above it that showed items like a basket of flowers, a satyr's face, and panthers drinking from a *kantharos* (Fig. 35). Altogether the piers told the tale of Lycurgos, who is likely the running man on the westernmost pier. The decoration of the *porticus* with these images when it was built in the late 1st century AD most likely reflects that, in accordance with Greek theatrical tradition, Dionysos had long been invoked at dramatic performances in Philippi's theater. The vine and theater mask frieze on the architrave block from the *scaenae frons* further supports this likelihood. As an outcome of the theater hosting performances in honor of Dionysos, the *porticus*' reliefs generally would have conveyed how leisure was an empowering and divinely-sanctioned part of urban life. In depicting the tale of Lycurgos, these reliefs specifically would have underscored for viewers how it was necessary to pay proper respect to Dionysos if Philippi's prosperity was to be ensured.[57]

[55] Aristodemou 2015, 76; Lemerle 1934, 464-5, fn. 3, Fig. 6; The fragment, which was found reused in Basilica A, measures 0.63 m long and 0.17 m tall.

[56] This seemingly unpublished tablet is currently on display in the Philippi Archaeology Museum.

[57] Adam-Veleni 2010, 83; Collart 1937, 374; 1928, 92; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 276; 2006b, 75-6; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2016, 207-12; 2003b, 102; 2001a, 76; 2001b, 110; Rnjak 1979, 43.

Since the stoa built southwest of the theater in the late 2nd century AD had a frieze of vines on its architrave, Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos suggest that it too was used in the cult of Dionysos. They specifically suggest that it featured in processions that led into the theater to open festivals for the god. They also argue that Philippi's sanctuary to the god, which had most likely been near the theater as at Thasos and Maroneia, was situated close to the stoa's western end.[58] Thus, like the decoration of the *porticus post scaenam*, the stoa seems to be an effect of the theater's role in the cult of Dionysos at Philippi. Through its decoration, the stoa was able to help spread Dionysos' worship by highlighting the god as a guarantor of urban vitality. The stoa also could have done so by articulating the way his sanctuary.

Additional gods whose cults the theater most likely promoted were those with rock-cut shrines on the western side of Philippi's acropolis. As has been noted above, these include Silvanus, Cybele, Artemis, and Isis, Serapis, and Horus. The proximity of these shrines to the theater since the 1st century AD is one reason why their gods may have been referenced in or included as recipients of some performances and thus promoted in this way. After the late 2nd century AD, spectators who entered the theater through the *epitheatron* would have encountered the shrines. The act of walking by them on the way to or from the theater in itself would have induced some spectators to contemplate the gods to which the shrines were dedicated.

The monuments that the followers of Isis and Serapis dedicated to the *ἀγωνοθέτης* Q. Flavius Hermadion and the *munerarius* L. Valerius Voltus Priscus suggest that the theater endorsed these deities' worship in some way through performances. These monuments do not specifically indicate that the performances funded by Hermadion and Priscus were dedicated to Isis and Serapis, and they may not have been. These monuments do indicate, however, that

[58] Di Napoli 2018, 331; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 279; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2016, 194-6; 2006, 70.

Hermadion's and Priscus' games either explicitly referenced the gods in images or acclamations or drew attention to powers or attributes for which they were well known. Since Hermodion was a priest of Asklepios, his games may have accented the healing powers that the pair shared with this god, for example. It thus can plausibly be said that the monuments dedicated to Hermadion and Priscus were in part products of the theater's promotion of Isis' cult as beneficial to Philippi's prosperity and of a sense of community among Isis' followers in the city.[59]

The Economic Function of Philippi's Theater

The aforementioned monuments that were commissioned in and around Philippi as expressions of people's cultural, political, and religious interactions in the theater attest to how the entertainment venue motivated economic activity in its local urban network. Given that large crowds collected at the theater for up to a few festival days, it is also quite likely that local merchants and craftsmen set up stalls around the theater to take advantage of these attractive sources of income. This is especially the case when one considers that festivals would have attracted people from Philippi's hinterland to go into the city.

More and better documented excavations around Philippi's theater are needed in order to explore this likelihood that local vendors were active around Philippi's theater during public festivals. However, evidence for commercial activity near other entertainment venues in this study (e.g. Heraclea Lyncestis, Thessalonica, Philippopolis, and Augusta Traiana) supports this likelihood. Such evidence from other parts of the Empire (e.g. the amphitheaters at Carnuntum, Chester, and Londinium) does so as well.[60] Fairs (*mercati*) known to have been organized on the

[59] Gounaris and Gounari 2004, 31-5; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2006b, 91; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2000, 25-8; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2006, 69; Since Hermadion was the priest of Asklepios, it is quite likely that this god received performances in Philippi's theater.

[60] Urbanus 2017; Wilmott and Garner 2009, 68-9; While evidence for shops and inns in the vicinity of Carnuntum's amphitheater come from magnetometry and ground-penetrating radar, evidence for stalls around Chester and

occasion of public festivals at Rome lend further credence to the scenario that such festivals at Philippi and this study's other main sites in Macedonia (and Thrace) provoked the establishment of temporary shopping districts in entertainment venue's vicinities.[61] Thus, although the paved square south of the theater's *scaena* has not been fully excavated, the large area it offered to spectators during public festivals quite likely attracted a fair amount of vendors' stalls. Some vendors may have set up shop in the *porticus post scaenam*. One can plausibly speculate that the goods vendors sold included inexpensive ceramic tablewares; ceramic and metal lamps and figurines, some of which may have been decorated with performers' images; and food and drink.

The square and the *porticus post scaenam* became an industrial-commercial area beginning in the late 4th – early 5th century AD. This hints at healthy economic interactions in the theater's square in the 2nd – early 4th century AD. It would make sense for the theater's earlier mediation of its city's economic interactions in these spaces to be continued in a more structurally invasive way once crowd circulation was not an issue. Indeed, Chapter Eight addresses how such reuses of entertainment venues' ruins in Macedonia in Late Antiquity seem to have been driven by collective memory of these structures' previous services to cities as drivers of cultural, political, religious, and economic vitality.[62]

Indeed, the artifactual and structural evidence explored above, while scattered and quite varied in kind, does demonstrate that Philippi's theater was a multifunctional mediator in its urban landscape. This evidence – structures and built spaces around the theater and civic and

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Londinium's amphitheaters is archaeological (ex. postholes for timber structures at the former and vessels with arena scenes at the eastern entrance of the latter). Holleran mentions an inscription (*CIL* VI 9822) that notes a *pomarius* sold fruit to spectators in the Circus Maximus. Other evidence she notes includes the presence of vendors' stalls near Pompeii's amphitheater in the painting of the riot there in 59 AD (2012, 210-1).

[61] Holleran 2012, 189-92; Holleran mentions as examples the *mercatus Apollinares, mercatus Romani,* and *mercatus Plebeii*, which are recorded in the *Fasti* as having accompanied the *ludi* of the same names.

[62] Di Napoli 2018, 331; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2001, 79-82.

funerary monuments found across Philippi and its hinterland – attests in tangible forms that people left public entertainments in Philippi's theater inspired by various ideas concerning their personal values, their relationships with others in their city, and the gods to which they prayed. In these ways, then, the theater helped to guide the courses of the complex, overlapping cultural, religious, and economic interactions that defined life at Philippi and so informed what urbanism across Macedonia entailed in the 2nd – early 4th century AD.

The Theater at Heraclea Lyncestis

Performers and spectators interacted in the same general ways in Heraclea's theater as in Philippi's and with similar kinds of material outcomes, which demonstrates the standardization that Roman administrative control supported across Macedonia's regional urban network. At the same time, Heraclea's theater was structurally quite different than Philippi's and so hosted cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions in markedly different ways. Also, a fairly different set of artifacts, monuments, and built spaces is available as evidence for the theater's multifunctional mediation, which allows insight into entertainment venues' mediation in Macedonia's cities that cannot be gained in connection with Philippi's theater. This is the case, for example, regarding economic interactions around Macedonia's entertainment venues. Thus, in its location at nearly the opposite side of Macedonia from Philippi, Heraclea's theater presents a useful next step in this chapter's discussion of the mix of regional standardization and local variability that Macedonia's entertainment venues reinforced in their urban landscapes.

The Form and Dating of Heraclea's Theater

The late 1st – early 2nd century AD urbanization horizon entailed a large-scale expansion of Heraclea Lyncestis' urban landscape, and the site's new theater was a preeminent aspect of this transformation. The theater was largely built into the south slope of Heraclea's acropolis, but

its scene building was supported by a vaulted substructure (Figs. 16, 37). The theater's *cavea* had a semicircular form and consisted of one tier that was divided into six wedges; it had a seating capacity of c. 3,000 spectators (Fig. 36). The theater's rectangular *scaena* was as wide as the *cavea* and originally had an ornate two-story *scaenae frons*. The *parodoi* were not vaulted (Figs. 36 – 37). As in this study's other theaters, there was an orthostat podium wall at the base of the *cavea*; it was as tall (c. 2.10 m) as the shallow porches between the doorways of the *scaenae frons*. A netting system could be installed at the top of the podium wall. In the center and both sides of the podium wall were vaulted rectangular recesses. The center and eastern recesses were accessible from the orchestra, but the western one was also connected to the western *parodos* through a substructure passageway (Fig. 36). A VIP box (*pulvinar*) was located between the 4th and 7th rows of seats and set over the central recess in the *cavea*'s podium wall.[63]

The scene building did not have a stage. Instead, roughly in the center of the theater's orchestra was found a round patch of dark sediment 4.30 m in diameter that indicates a wooden *pulpitum* was sometimes placed here, as in the theater at Pergamon. Approached by a stairway at its western side, this *pulpitum* was most likely as tall as the *cavea*'s podium wall.[64] As Janakievski suggests, it is possible that a similar temporary podium was occasionally set up in the orchestra of Stobi's theater; however, no traces of such a *pulpitum* were found.[65]

[63] Di Napoli 2018, 333; Gebhard 1975, 55-6; Giorgievska and Nasuh 2016, 77, 80-1; Janakievski 1998, 86-7, 90-8, 107-9, 124; 1987, 30, 32; Mikulčić 2007, 15, 17, 63, 65, 67, 71; Rnjak 1979, 57, 144, Cat. #174; The theater was reconstructed in the 1990s after its excavation under Tome Janakievski (1968-85). The reconstruction was not published so some doubt remains as to the faithfulness of its details (Janakievski 1998, 53-6).

[64] Janakievski 1987, 34, 37-8; 1998, 89-90, 128-132; Mikulčić 2007, 65; The dark patch of sediment, which had a central cutting into the bedrock 0.20 m deep, was located 6.70 m in front of the *scaenae frons* and 6.90 m from the center of the *cavea*. It was most likely as tall as the podium wall at the base of the theater's *cavea*.

[65] Di Napoli 2018, 333-4; Janakievski 1998, 126; Gebhard opposes Janakievski on this point.

Short stairways led from the orchestra of Heraclea's theater to the *scaena*'s three entrances, which had double doors (Figs. 36 – 37). They led into the central and end rooms of the five in the scene building. Narrow hallways were set at the front of the *parascaenia*. The hallway in the eastern wing held an entrance into the *scaena* while that in the western wing had an entrance into the *parodos*. The rest of the *parascaenia* held larger rooms on a lower elevation to the south that were reachable by staircases. Two archways accessed each lower room and formed the theater's southern façade along with the ten, tall brick arches that buttressed the central portion of the *scaena*'s substructure. In this way the theater's hillside position afforded additional spaces for interaction along its rear side, similar to the *stoa post scaenam* of Philippi's theater.[66]

Lychnidos' theater may have looked similar to Heraclea's (Figs. 39 – 40). Little of this theater remains, but it and Heraclea's theater had a similarly-sized one-tiered *cavea*. Malenko holds that the *scaena* of Lychnidos' theater, of which the front foundation wall remains, had a wooden *proscaenium* and was connected to the *cavea* with vaulted *parodoi*. These features suggest that western architectural trends inspired Lychnidos' theater similarly to the theaters at Heraclea, Stobi (the first theater), and Scupi (see Chapter Five for these two theaters).[67]

Excavations of Heraclea's theater established a late 1st century BC – early 1st century AD *terminus post quem* for its construction. This dating was based on ceramic evidence from the fill below the scene building and a structure, possibly a small bath, under the *scaena*'s western end.[68] Janakievski asserts that the theater was built at the end of Hadrian's principate or beginning of Antoninus Pius' after the former's travel along the Via Egnatia in 124/5 AD. The

[66] Gebhard 1975, 55-6; Giorgievska and Nasuh 2016, 80; Janakievski 1998, 86-7, 90-8, 107-9, 124; 1987, 34, 40-7; Mikulčić 2007, 63, 65, 71; Rnjak 1979, 57, 144, Cat. #174.

[67] Janakievski 1998, 57, 59, 100-1; Malenko 2008, 77; 1981, 19-20.

[68] Mikulčić 2007, 41; The excavated room of this structure contained a water fountain, tile floor, and bench along its walls, prompting the whole structure's identification as a bath.

idea here, which is plausible, is that the emperor's philhellenism encouraged the project and that he financially supported it, as is confirmed for architectural projects at cities that Hadrian visited in Greece and Asia.[69] An inscription that supports this possibility records an imperial edict (*κοινῷ διατάγματι*) that directs Heraclea's inhabitants to fix the roads near their city with the aid of imperial funds. This project could have prompted the city to initiate a building campaign that featured the theater and that tapped into these and additional imperial funds.[70]

It is also possible that the theater was built earlier in the late 1st or first two decades of the 2nd century AD. Based on her dating of the portico a short distance to the southeast, Gordana Tomašević advocated for the first two decades of the 2nd century AD because of stylistic parallels between column pedestals from the theater's *scaenae frons* and those from the portico.[71] Janakievski disagrees with Tomašević for two reasons. First, he finds Hadrian's trip through Macedonia in 124/5 AD a convenient impetus for the theater's construction. Second, Janakievski holds that his dating makes the construction of Heraclea's theater contemporary with the construction and modification of the theaters at Stobi and Philippi, which he also places in

[69] Giorgievska and Nasuh 2016, 80; Janakievski 2001, 24; 1998, 153-6; 1987, 65-7; Mikulčić 2007, 49, 69; Giorgievska and Nasuh agree with Janakievksi's dating of the theater. At Athens, for example, inscriptional evidence confirms that Hadrian funded the construction of a new aqueduct over the Ilissos River (Camp 2001, 204-5), and Pausanias notes that the emperor funded structures such as the Olympieion (I.18.6-7; Camp 2000, 200-1), the "Panhellenion" (I.18.9; Travlos 1971, 429), and the Library of Hadrian (I.18.9; Travlos 1971, 244). Smryna also received funds for the construction of a gymnasium and temple from Hadrian (Thomas 2007, 130).

[70] *IG* X 2,1 52; Kalpakovska and Giorgievska 2003, 34, #21; *Οἱ λειτοθργείτωσαν· οἱ δὲ κεκτημένοι μόνον ταῖς τῆι/ [κτήσει ἐ]πιβαλλομέναις λειτουργίαις ὑπεύθυνοι ἔτωσαν· τίνα/ [δὲ] δεῖ τ]ρόπον στόρνυσθαι τὰς ὁδούς, κοινῶι διατάγματι ἐδήλωσα· [κε]λεύω καὶ ΑΝΤΑΝΟΥΣ συντελεῖν ὑμεῖν εἰς τὰ ἀναλώματα/ τὸ τρίτον συνεισφέροντας· ἡ δὲ συνεισφορὰ γενέσθω ἀπὸ/ τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ὄντων ΑΝΤΑΝΩΝ· εὐτυχείτε/ πρὸ ιγ' Καλανδῶν Ιυνίων ἀπὸ Δυρραχίου* ("They should perform their public services. Landowners alone should be held responsible for public services that are rendered in their land. I [the governor] was informed by an imperial edict that the roads must be levelled in some manner. I ordered the Antani to contribute a third of the expenses for you. This joint contribution will come from the Antani who are in Macedonia. Good fortune to you from Dyrrachium, May 20).

[71] Giorgievska and Nasuh 2016, 77-8; Janakievski 1998, 54, 153-6; 1987, 65-6; Mikulčić 2007, 69; Tomašević 1965, 9-33; Tomašević was director of excavations at Heraclea from 1959 to 1974. The shapes and sizes of the bricks in both buildings only generally support a date in the 2nd century AD.

the time of Hadrian.[72] However, as has been discussed above in reference to Philippi's theater and is discussed in Chapter 5 with regard to Stobi's, construction efforts in both theaters were more likely in the late 1st century AD. The structural similarities between Heraclea's theater and the first theater at Stobi and Scupi's theater certainly do not prove this earlier construction date but do lend credibility to it. Thus, it is plausible that Heraclea's theater (and Lychnidos') was built in the first twenty years of the 2nd or perhaps even at a the end of the 1st century AD.[73]

Heraclea's agora further corroborates an earlier construction date for the theater. A portion of the agora was excavated under the 5th century AD Episcopal Basilica. Ivan Mikulčić holds it was a complex with an inner courtyard surrounded by two, two-story aisles (Fig. 38). The inner aisle held ground-floor and likely corresponding upper-story shops, and the outer was probably a hallway. The agora most likely dates to the first two decades of the 2nd century AD since the portico that dates to this time was part of the agora's eastern approach. Following Mikulčić's reconstruction, the agora's north side opened onto the street at the foot of the theater, making the two structures pendants at the center of Heraclea.[74] Thus, the construction of the theater, agora, and portico shortly before or in the first two decades of the 2nd century AD is credible given the site's topography and available archaeological evidence.

The Cultural Function of Heraclea's Theater

After it was built, Heraclea's theater became a popular venue for cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions in its urban landscape. As a venue for cultural interactions,

[72] Janakievski 1998, 150-2.

[73] Janakievksi (2001, 36) also supports this later date for the first phase of Lychnidos' theater.

[74] Giorgievska and Nasuh 2016, 83; Mikulčić 2007, 78-9, 81; Mikulčić reconstructed the agora based on a portion of its inner courtyard and in-situ pedestals under the south side of the Episcopal Basilica and the floor of its outer narthex. The dimensions of the preserved walls and foundations of the agora are what suggests it had two stories.

like most of the other Macedonian theaters in this study (except for that at Dion) Heraclea's accommodated dramatic performances, gladiatorial battles, and animal hunts. The podium wall at the base of the *cavea* and *scaena* made the orchestra an arena for gladiatorial games and animal hunts. While the podium was tall enough to prevent a gladiator and some animals like bulls and bears from entering the seating area, the optional netting system was needed to keep spectators safe from high-jumping big cats.[75] The recesses in the sides of the podium were *stabula* for storing animals before hunts. The smaller central recess was most likely a temporary refuge for animal hunters; the *stabula* may have doubled as refuges as well.[76] Unlike in Philippi's theater, then, the netting system and *stabula* were able to boost spectators' interest in the cultural messages of animal hunts from the beginning of the theater's use.

Since Heraclea's theater did not have a stage, the actions of dramatic performers could not have been framed by the *scaenae frons* and a decorative *proscaenium* as in the theaters at Thasos, Maroneia, and perhaps Philippi. While dramatic performances perhaps used the stairways of the *scaenae frons* on some occasions, for the most part they took place in the orchestra. The temporary podium at the center of the orchestra, however, also allowed the option of focusing more attention on one person or a small group of people. Heraclea's theater could have supported plays with a few speaking parts as well as choral and dance performances, or in other words traditional tragedies and comedies as well as mimes and pantomimes.[77]

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[75] Janakievski 1998, 88-9; 1987, 33-4; 1981, 35.

[76] Janakievski 1998, 87, 107-9; 1987, 32; 1981, 35; Mikulčić 2007, 65, 67; The eastern recess had a drain (0.27 x 0.27 m) so that animal excrement could be cleaned out. Janakievski suggests that the western recess accessed the *parodos* so that animals stored in the lower story of the *scaena*'s westernmost room could easily be transferred there. While this idea is plausible, it is unclear why this arrangement was not duplicated for the eastern recess.

[77] Bieber 1961, 108, 119, 123, 126-7, 167 (Bieber discusses the relationship of stage to orchestra size in Hellenistic theaters and what this means for types of dramatic performances); Beacham 1999, 9-10; Dunbabin 2016, 53; Janakievski 1998, 130-2; 1987, 38; McCart 2007, 262; Walton 2007, 291.

Although somewhat separated from actors in the orchestra and on the *pulpitum*, the *scaenae frons* was still a visually imposing backdrop to the performances at its base. Its elaborate decoration thus accented the ideas conveyed in these performances. One possible example of how it did this is a stone theater mask (0.37 m tall) that most likely came from the *scaenae frons*. This mask depicts a bearded Herakles wearing his lion skin mantle and with his mouth wide open in a tragic expression (Fig. 41a).[78] Because of the mask's form, its presence in the theater's sculptural program suggests that dramatic performances in the theater included traditional tragedies, at least in the 2nd century AD. In the background of a tragedy or tragic mime or pantomime, the mask would have helped to convey tragic themes to spectators that they then embraced as relevant to life in and around Heraclea. Such tragic themes include the dangers of overstepping human and divine law, the unavoidability of suffering, or the need for fortitude to cope with suffering. The mask was also simply able to help convince spectators of the benefit of catharsis through leisure and how urban life offered plentiful avenues for *otium*.[79]

Similar stone theater mask decorations were found at Dion, where they too had most likely been set in the (Roman) theater's *scaenae frons.* One found reused in Dion's southern wall is a tragic mask that wears a peaked crown and has wide almond-shaped eyes, a long narrow nose, and an agape mouth. The other mask, which lacks a provenance, looks similar and was a tragic mask as well, although its mouth is missing (Fig. 41b-c).[80] Viewed in connection with

[78] Bieber 1961, 244, Fig. 805; Janakievski 1998, 32-3; 1987, 53; Rnjak 1979, 62; The Herakles mask was found with debris in the 5th century AD fountain at the SE corner of the theater. A similar example was found at Ostia's theater among other comic and tragic masks that were added when the theater was remodeled in the late 2nd century AD.

[79] Bieber 1961, 157; Janakievski 1998, 33; McCart 2007, 249; See Lucian's *On Pantomime* (e.g. 65-79) for examples of the ideas audiences could get from mimes and pantomimes. The speaker Lycinus remarks on the cathartic potential of these performances in 79: *λύπῃ ἐχόμενος ἐξέρχεται τοῦ θεάτρου φαιδρότερος* ("He who is held by pain of mind leaves the theater more cheerful").

[80] *AE* 1995, *ΜΘ* 9; Dion Arch. Mus. Inv. #7821; Karadedos et al. 2014, 13, 16, Fig. 8; Pandermalis 1998, 172; Both theater masks are on display in the central stairway at Dion's archaeological museum. I would like to thank Profs. Kyriakou and Pingiatoglou at Aristotle University for discussing these masks with me.

tragedies and tragic pantomimes or mimes in Dion's theater, these masks would have guided spectators to value *otium*'s morale-boosting potential. The masks also would have helped to convince them of the relevance of tragic themes like fortune's mutability or the cruelties of fate.

Lamps, figurines, and sculpture found across Heraclea demonstrate that the theater's performances promoted many other cultural values among the city's inhabitants in the 2nd – early 4th century AD. For example, a bone artifact found in the western *parodos*' fill reflects some possible ideas that dramatic performances inspired people to contemplate after they left the entertainment venue. The artifact is a head of a comic actor (6.2 cm tall and 4.3 cm wide) that has a rectangular recess in its rear side. The actor is an old man with an elongated face, a wide, furrowed brow, large almond eyes, a large nose, a jeering smile, and a pointy chin (Fig. 42).[81] As the face of a stock old man character, it could have been a warning to its owner against becoming a senile *paterfamilias*. It could have served as a mocking tribute to the ignorance of the old commoner. It was also simply a reminder of the *otium* provided by dramatic performances.[82]

Other consumer goods made or sold at Heraclea between the 2nd and early 4th century AD depict gladiatorial battles and animal hunts. For example, a fragment from the top of a ceramic oil lamp on which is depicted a gladiator in a fighting position was found in the area of the theater (most likely in the wide street along its southern façade). The gladiator strides forward holding a small rectangular shield in his left hand and a dagger in his right. The figure's headgear

[81] Janakievski 1998, 25; 1987, 55-6; Rnjak 1979, 53, 117, Cat. #115; Janakievksi identifies the head as that of a philosopher and sees it as evidence of the performance of tragedies in Heraclea's theater. The recces in the artifact's rear side suggests that it was a container that could be closed with a sliding lid.

[82] Bieber 1961, 149-51; Marshall 2006, 138; Bieber shows some examples of old man figurines and suggests how they could represent stock characters from Roman comedy such as the poor old potter or the dim-witted politician. As Marshall clarifies, a stock character's mask would have elicited certain preconceived notions from spectators but still would have allowed for additional thoughts depending on a specific performance of that stock role.

is not preserved, but he was a heavy gladiator.[83] This artifact fragment represents that spectators wished to take the values they witnessed in the theater's arena out into the city with them. Based on the ready stance of the gladiator on the lamp and the depiction of an animal hunter in action on the vessel sherd, one can hazard that these values included esteem for bravery and martial prowess. Such items also would have highlighted leisure as an urban value.

The Political Function of Heraclea's Theater

While spectators and performers were inculcated with cultural values at dramatic performances, gladiatorial battles, and animal hunts in Heraclea's theater, they were also led to think about their relationships with one another. Heraclea's theater reinforced a hierarchy based on wealth, profession, etc., and fostered senses of community among its city's inhabitants and visitors. The structural feature that best captures the theater's capacity to reinforce a social hierarchy was its VIP box where Heraclea's magistrates and game-givers sat. Positioned near the orchestra's center, framed by a podium wall at their back and balustrades at the box's side, and seated in portable chairs, VIPs were highly visible at performances in the theater (Fig. 44).[84]

This visual prominence would have been enhanced by VIPs' entrance into the box. VIPs would have walked along the top of the orchestra's podium wall in full view of audience members of lesser status seated higher in the *cavea*. Similarly showcased by this route to their seats and these seats' location at the front of the *cavea*, other local or visiting elites would have received a similar level of attention. Thus, through its structured apportioning of seats to wealthy public office holders, the theater endorsed their place at the top of Heraclea's social hierarchy.

[83] Bitola museum inv. #143/T; Janakievski 1998, 35, Fig. 33; 1987, 62; Rnjak 1979, 260, Cat. #540; The lamp fragment measures 4.1 x 3.8 x 0.6 cm.

[84] Janakievski 1987, 27; 1998, 83-4; Mikulčić 2007, 67; The orthostats at the back of the box were the same as those in the orchestra's podium wall. Along the edge of the box were low seating blocks 0.33 m tall and 0.39 m wide and with a rounded front edge. In the box was also found a stone base (0.5 x 0.3 x 0.3 m) with a lion's paw relief.

T. Flavius Orestes is an elite Heraclean for whom the city had a statue erected in the portico in the first quarter of the 2nd century AD. Orestes has a bushy beard and a thick head of hair with comma-lock curls at the front (Fig. 45a). Like his *praenomen* and *nomen*, which advertise his Roman citizenship, both facial features visually indicate that he wanted to tie his public persona to the exercise of Roman imperial authority in Macedonia. His beard, however, also indicates that he wished to be seen as a philhellene, a patron of the same traditional Greek culture that had long been a hallmark of elite Macedonian identity (see Chapter Two). The himation he wears wrapped tightly around his body helps to convey the same message. The scroll he holds in his left hand highlight his role as an intellectual and civic leader. Moreover, on a support at his left ankle is an ingot, which indicates he was a member (and perhaps leader) of a metalworkers' guild (Fig. 45b). Orestes' statue thus presents him as a respected local intellectual, politician, and tradesman from a respected Macedonian family who was both loyal to Roman imperial authority and supportive of Macedonia's traditional cultural, political, religious, and economic connections with Greek city-states throughout the Aegean.[85]

The inscription that accompanies Orestes' statue notes that the city honors him as a high priest and civic benefactors. Thus, front-row seating in the theater would have showcased his high status. The inscription on his statue does not specify for which god he was high priest, which means that he was either Heraclea's high priest of the imperial cult or of all the cults in the city. In either case he would have been responsible for leading Heraclea's observance of the imperial cult, which necessarily included funding gladiatorial games and/or animal hunts in the

[85] Janakievski 2001, 24; 1998, 154; Kalpakovska and Giorgievska 2003, 38-9, #26; Mikulčić 2007, 47; Smith 1998, 63, 65-6.

theater.[86] The same Orestes is commemorated in an inscription at Styberra, and his family is known from several inscriptions at Thessalonica. By showcasing T. Flavius Orestes, the theater also drew attention to his and his family's deeds in other cities in Macedonia. Therefore, the statue that Heraclea dedicated in his honor is a material manifestation of how the theater endorsed the leadership and public standing of the city's elites and those of Macedonia's elites in general. Prominently displayed not far from the theater and close to the eastern entrance of the agora, this monument to Orestes further promoted these ideas to its viewers.[87]

The tiered seating of Heraclea's theater also informed how non-elites thought about their standing relative to one another. Those who sat at the *cavea*'s rear, who included poor free citizens, slaves, and perhaps women, were aware that those who sat in rows in front of them were of relatively higher status. These spectators also reached this awareness based on the longer time it took them to reach their seats at the back of the theater after they had entered the *parodoi* and used the staircases at either end of the *cavea* (Figs. 15, 37).[88]

The theater also allowed spectators to stay separate from performers in ways that generally privileged the former. Whereas spectators entered the building through the *parodoi*, the latter used more sheltered approaches. Through the ground-level rooms at the ends of the scene building, performers ascended staircases leading to small entrances into the western *parodos* and

[86] *IG* X 2,1 73; Janakievski 2001, 24; 1998, 154; Kalpakovska and Giorgievska 2003, 38-9, #26; Mikulčić 2007, 47; The inscription reads: *Ἡ πόλις/ Τ(ίτον) Φλάβιον/ Ὀρέστην/ τὸν . β. ἀρχιερέα/ καὶ εὐεργέτην/ τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὴν/ εὐνοίας/ ἕνε-/ κεν// εἰσηγησαμένου/ . Γ(αίου) . Μαρ(ίου). Βλοσσιανοῦ/ Θράσωνος/ πολειταρχ(οῦντος). Μαρί(ου)/ Κλαυδ(ίου). Πούλχρου*. (The city (dedicates a statue of) Titus Flavius Orestes, twice high priest and benefactor out of goodwill for his own city. (Dedicated) on the motion of Gaius Marius Blossianus Thrasonos when Marius Claudius Pulcher was politarch.). The obligation of imperial cult priests to fund gladiatorial games and animal hunts is emphasized in the *senatus consultum de pretiis gladiatorum minuendis* (aka the *Aes Italicense*) of 177 AD (Streinu 2018, 361).

[87] Mikulčić 2007, 47; Mikulčić notes how the inscription at Styberra is dated after Orestes' death c. 128 AD.

[88] It is perhaps possible that those who sat at the *cavea*'s rear ascended to their seats via *clivi* set against the seating area's outer wall, like the staircases that were added to the theater in its modern reconstruction. Given the lack of documentation for this reconstruction, however, it is unclear if these staircases had archaeological basis.

the eastern side of the *scaena*'s interior (Figs. 36 – 37). Inside the *scaena*, they had a good amount of space for performance preparation. How troupes of performers moved in the theater thus underscored that they served their audiences. The podium wall, and its netting if it was in place, further contributed to this idea by physically elevating spectators above performers.

Despite highlighting hierarchical distinctions among spectators and between spectators and performers in the ways noted above, like this study's other entertainment venues Heraclea's theater was equally capable of fostering senses of community in its local urban network. Although the *cavea* had a VIP box and offered hierarchically tiered seating to spectators, it still put spectators of various economic means and professions in close proximity with one another. This allowed the theater to promote a unified civic identity. Probably the most noticeable material outcomes of the theater being a symbol of a shared civic identity to Heracleans were the streets that surrounded it. Laid out at the same time as the theater or soon after, the width of these streets indicates they allowed for plentiful mingling among Heraclea's inhabitants and visitors.

The best known and most important of them was the street (c. 7 – 8 m) that ran along the theater's southern façade and was a significant east to west route through Heraclea (Figs. 15 – 16, 37). Given this street's width and prominent location between the theater and agora and the eastern and western sides of the city, it was most likely frequently populated, especially when the theater hosted performances. This in turn makes it likely that spectators occasionally encountered performers here as the latter exited the back of the scene building. Favorable encounters between performers and their fans would have contributed to some extent to the former feeling like they were a part of the wider community. The width of streets (c. 6 – 7 m) that ran up to the theater's *parodoi* means they were prominent, too. They were most likely connected to the street at the

theater's base by *clivi*, one on either side of the theater's scene building.[89] More excavation is needed to clarify how the theater shaped the streets that surrounded it. The width of these streets, however, suggests that they once had prominent appearances in their own right and so were civic monuments that the theater had helped to produce by bolstering a shared civic identity.

Heraclea's theater was able to promote a general sense of community while also leading spectators to develop greater attachment to sub-communities. Inscriptions carved into the *cavea* provide evidence for this. For example, capital Greek letters (16 – 22 cm tall) carved on the front surfaces of some seating blocks indicate that at times people sat according to tribal (*φυλή*) affiliation. Most of the extant *phylae* inscriptions are on the front of the second to last row before the orchestra on the eastern side of the *cavea*; they note tribes named after Asklepios, Artemis, Antoninus Pius, Herakles, and Dionysos. Two other lines of inscriptions run perpendicular to this main one; one reiterates the tribe of Artemis, and the other qualifies *Σεβαστός* in the main line with "Valerius" and "Antoninus."[90] The *cavea*'s six *cunei* were thus divided among the city's *phylae*. Spectators possibly sat according to tribal affiliations at performances, but these *phylae* inscriptions more likely mean that city council meetings and assemblies were held in the theater. In fact, Heraclea does not seem to have had a *bouleuterium*. Seating according to *phylae* had the capacity to promote civic identity among Heraclea's inhabitants by calling attention to shared citizenship. It was also able to help create a sense of belonging to a particular tribe.[91]

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[89] Janakievski 1998, 90; 1987, 39; Mikulčić 2007, 67; I have based the estimated width of the street leading through the theater's *parodoi* on that of the *parodoi* themselves. The northern side of the wide street at the theater's base was seemingly built over structures dating to the 1st century AD (e.g. the bath under the southwestern corner of the scene building's façade), but perhaps its southern half corresponded with an earlier narrower street.

[90] *IG* X 2,1 112; Janakievski 1987, 21; 1998, 80; Kalpakovska and Giorgievska 2003, 23, #2; Mikulčić 2007, 67; Skotheim 2016, 116; In capitals, the Greek *phylae* inscriptions are: - τῆς Ἀσκληπιάδος, φυλὴ Ἀρτε[μισι]ὰς, [Οὐ][α]λερίου Ἀντωνείνου Σεβαστοῦ, [φυλὴ Ηρ]άκλειος, and φυλὴ Διονυσιὰς. The first perpendicular line starts at row 13 and ends at the end of "Asklepios" while the second begins at row 18 and ends before "Sebastos."

[91] Wiseman 1984, 578; Wiseman notes that the *phylae* inscribed in Stobi's theater seem too formal for use at games.

The Religious Function of Heraclea's Theater

The names of Heraclea's civic tribes underscore how the cultural values and political messages that people internalized in the theater were closely tied to Roman polytheism. Based on the *phylae* inscriptions, deities presented through performances in the theater as worthy of worship included Asklepios, Artemis, Herakles, Dionysus, and the divinized Antoninus Pius. The theater, then, played a role in prompting Heraclea's inhabitants to dedicate monuments to these deities.[92] One such monument is a votive tablet dated to the 2nd – 3rd century AD. Asklepiades thanks Asklepios for healing his ears or hearing since his tablet bears reliefs of a pair of ears (Fig. 46).[93] An early 3rd century AD stone stele commemorates Claudia Stratonika's dedication of her 10-year-old son Kalinos to Artemis of Ephesus.[94] Zosimus dedicated a tablet (12 x 20 x 17 cm) to Herakles around the time of these two monuments.[95] While further promoting the worship of traditional gods at Heraclea, these monuments also could have bolstered the belonging that the city's inhabitants felt toward the tribes named after these gods.

The theater also promoted the cult of Nemesis. Besides being invoked in gladiatorial battles and animal hunts and their attendant ceremonies, the goddess most likely had a shrine in the center of the *cavea*'s rear wall. Here was found what was originally an arched space (1.43 m wide) surrounded by ceramic tiles (Fig. 44). The identification of this space as a shrine is based on arched shrines found in theaters at Vienna, Leptis Magna, Timgad, Thugga, and Rome at the

[92] Mikulčić 2007, 61.

[93] *IG* X 2,1 58; Kalpakovska and Giorgievska 2003, 27, #8; *[ε]ὐχὴν Ασσκλ/ [πι]ῷ Ασσκληπι/ άδ[η]ς.* The tablet's find provenance is unknown. It measures 19 x 16 x 4 cm. An *omphalos* sits between the ears.

[94] Kalpakovska and Giorgievska 2003, 28-9, #11; The monument (60 x 37 x 19 cm) bears two incomplete inscriptions. The first four lines of the inscription that records Kalinos' dedication are fragmented. The next five lines read: *ἔτους - - - [μην]ος Δεσίου ΄κ/ Η.ΒΙ.ΥΛΑΛ' εχούσα τριῶν τέκν-/ [ων][ἀπο]τίθημι πεδάριον Κάλ-/ [ι]νον περὶ ετη ι' θεᾷ Αρτέμιδι Ε/ φεσίᾳ---με τῆς θεοῦ.* The other inscription notes the mother's name and another offering.

[95] *IG* X 2,1 59; Kalpakovska and Giorgievska 2003, 27, #9; - - - *Herc[uli]/ - - - -us Zos[imus]/ S.*

Theater of Pompey. A statue of Nemesis was not found in Heraclea's theater, but this shrine can be attributed to Nemesis because her shrines are prevalent across the Eastern Mediterranean in theaters that hosted gladiatorial battles and animal hunts, as in theaters at Philippi and Thasos, for example.[96] In her shrine at the back of the *cavea* of Heraclea's theater, Nemesis would have been visible to everyone in the theater. Moreover, spectators who sat toward the back of the *cavea* would have passed the shrine when they entered and left the theater.

It is possible that performers also encountered shrines to Nemesis in small niches in the two rooms flanking the scene building's central room (Rooms B and B_1 in Fig. 36). Sculptural or epigraphic evidence from these rooms does not confirm this possibility, but it is supported by the *Nemeseion* in the scene building of Stobi's theater (see Chapter Five) and the ones in the *scaenae* of the theaters at Ephesus and Hierapolis.[97] Since spectators normally would not have entered the scene building of Heraclea's theater, it seems most likely that it would have been performers and support staff who interacted most with the possible shrines to Nemesis here.

By providing shrines to Nemesis and hosting the performances that were her purview, Heraclea's theater gave spectators and performers opportunities to ponder what the goddess meant for them and their city. A statue of Nemesis erected in the portico in the 2nd century AD was a product of such contemplation (Fig. 47). Julia Tertulla made this dedication to gain Nemesis' support in safeguarding the city's good fortune. Julia Tertulla's offering thus attests that the theater contributed to the expansion of its city's religious life by promoting Nemesis as a goddess of good fortune and order. Her offering also attests the theater's efficacy as a mediator

[96] Bateman 2009, 159; Bonde 2018, 217-8; Di Napoli 2018, 333; Mikulčić 2007, 69; Janakievski 1987, 22-3; 1998, 81, 110-2.

[97] Hornum 1993, 58, 61; Janakievski 1987, 44; 1998, 96; Each niche (1.76 m wide and 0.74 m deep) was placed in the center of these rooms' western walls.

of political interactions since its inscription records its dedicator's concern for and therefore sense of belonging to her city. Given the connection between Nemesis and imperial authority, the monument is an endorsement of Heraclea's allegiance to Roman imperial authority as well.[98]

The Economic Function of Heraclea's Theater

The theater also encouraged economic interactions. This is attested by the consumer goods and monuments that were made and/or sold at the site as responses to people's cultural, political, and religious experiences in the entertainment venue. It is also quite likely that, not long after it was built, the theater itself became a regular focal point for commerce in the form of shops set into the ten arched spaces in its southern façade. Large crowds of festival-goers would have made for good business. Additionally, these arches were across the street from shops in the agora's second story (Figs. 36 – 38). Varyingly 1.94 – 3.37 m wide and 3.64 m deep, these spaces were large enough to hold wares for stalls set up in front of them in the street.[99]

Despite the high likelihood of these shops' existence, there is no direct evidence for them. Many fragments of ceramic vessels and figurines dateable to the 2nd – early 4th century AD have been found in the street at the base of the theater, but this does not necessarily indicate these goods came from shops here. More convincing indirect evidence are the combination stores and domestic spaces that were built against the theater's southern façade and functioned in the 5th –

[98] *IG* X 2,1 56; Di Napoli 2018, 333; Janakievski 2001, 24; 1998, 112-3, 115-6; 1987, 58-61; Kalpakovska and Giorgievska 2003, 26, #6; Mikulčić 2007, 59; Rnjak 1979, 272-3, Cat. #568-9; Zaleski 2014, 597; *[T]ύχῃ . πόλεως/ Νέμεσι[ν]/ θεᾷ[ν]/ Ἰουλία/ Τέρτυλλα.* The statue base is 1.55 x 0.5 x 0.36 m. Two other possible dedications to Nemesis are a life-size marble head found in excavations at Heraclea in 1936-8 (Bitola museum inv. #19) and a statue body without a head or arms that was found in an archway in the theater's southern façade. Aristodemou notes how Nemesis was commonly associated with Tyche/Fortuna across the Roman Empire (2015, 78).

[99] Janakievski 1998, 98; 1987, 47; Mikulčić 2007, 71.

6th century AD (Fig. 37).[100] This series of rectangular rooms permanently added around half the width of the street at the theater's base to the space in the façade's archways.

Excavations in the west three rooms in 2010-12 revealed that their walls were built on top of earlier ones with slightly different trajectories. Coins found in relation with these earlier walls suggest they existed at least since the late 3rd – early 4th century AD. One coin was a silver *antoninianus* of Trebonianus Gallus (251-3 AD) that was found in a floor fill of a room at the center of the theater's southern façade. Its good state of preservation suggests that it was not in circulation long before it was deposited. The same applies to a bronze coin of Constantine the Great found near the corner of a wall that ran up to the archway directly west of arched space 1 (Fig. 36). The coin (308-9 AD) was found in crushed mortar next to a patch of the same mortar that had been used to block an entrance in the wall corner. The coin thus suggests that the wall was updated (the blocked entrance) in the late 3rd or beginning of the 4th century AD. If the first permanent shops existed along the theater's façade by this time, it is plausible they replaced temporary shops that occupied this space since at least the earlier 3rd century AD.[101] As for the goods these spaces sold, 2nd – 4th century AD ceramic evidence found in the area offers figurines molded from a fine red fabric, bowls made from the same fabric, lamps, and coarse cookware as possibilities.[102] It is also possible that some shops sold "concessions" to festival-goers.

Together with the positioning of the agora across from the theater, shops located in the archways of the theater's southern façade in the 3rd and perhaps 2nd century AD would explain

[100] Giorgievska and Nasuh 2016, 97-8, 167-8, 170-1; Nasuh 2008, 157.

[101] Giorgievska and Nasuh 2016, 181 (Trebonianus coin), 195 (Constantine coin, Inv. #11496); The 2010-12 excavations in the "Theater Square" were conducted by the Balkan Heritage Foundation in partnership with the Bitola Museum and archaeologists Anica Giorgievska, Engin Nasuh, and Dimitar Giorgievski. These excavations' results await full publication by Balkan Heritage and are referenced here with the permission of the Bitola Museum.

[102] Giorgievska and Nasuh 2016, 167-8, 170-1.

why a warehouse was built at the theater's west side (Fig. 16, #11). Giorgievska and Nasuh identified this building as a gymnasium, but its dimensions and interior layout more likely indicate a warehouse. Measuring 45 m long and 7 m wide, the building was segmented into seven rooms (6 x 6 m) by six pairs of wall segments. Its interior thus is not spacious or open enough to accommodate athletic training. This segmentation is instead indicative of a storage space. Moreover, marble sills between the wall segments on either side of the central room indicate that doors could close it off from the flanking series of three rooms. This arrangement is consistent with a central entranceway controlling access to two storage wings. Finally, as can be seen at the site, pithoi were set into the floor of the building's westernmost room.[103] The warehouse's stone block and mortar walls, the interiors of which were coated with high quality mortar, are consistent in craftmanship with others built at Heraclea n the early 2nd – early 4th century AD. As a product of the theater's mediation of economic interactions, this warehouse would have contributed to the expansion of urban interactions by allowing more goods to be sold at Heraclea and by thereby inducing more people to spend time in the city.

The continuation of economic activity along the theater's southern façade from at least the 3rd into the 6th century AD perhaps best exemplifies the entertainment venue's continued relevance to its local urban network in Late Antiquity. All the ways the theater contributed to its urban landscape's expansion in the 2nd – 4th centuries seem to be reflected in its reuse in the 5th and 6th centuries AD. Thus, even decades after the theater ceased to host performances, Heracleans still seem to have collectively remembered its past contributions to cultural, political, religious, and economic aspects of urban life.

[103] Giorgievska and Nasuh 2016, 95-7; Giorgievska and Nasuh propose that the "gymnasium" lacked a training yard and that the theater's orchestra fulfilled this function instead. The building was fronted by a porch 1.70 m wide.

Conclusion

As microcosms of the urban landscapes in which they were set, Philippi and Heraclea Lyncestis' theaters exemplify in their multifunctionality the varied overlapping interactions among numerous human and material actors that characterized urbanism in Macedonia in the 2nd – early 4th century AD. In their features and inscriptions, the new material actors that the two theaters helped to introduce to their urban landscapes reveal themselves to be outcomes of a combination of these buildings' cultural, political, religious, and economic functions. These new material actors' capacities to participate in and thus further shape the interactions that constituted urban life at Philippi and Heraclea – as well as the architectural modifications these cities' theaters underwent – underscore the dynamism of urbanism in Roman Macedonia.

The interactions these theaters hosted and these interactions' ideological and material results were generally similar and so indicate a fair degree of standardization across Macedonia' regional urban network. At the same time, material evidence for the theaters' mediation demonstrates that Philippi and Heraclea's communities used standardized forms to construct complex urban realities that were still distinct. Through a look at Stobi's theater and the theater-stadium, *odeum*, and hippodrome at Thessalonica, the next chapter further explores the interplay between standardization and variety and multivalent dynamic interactions that entertainment venues promoted in Macedonia's cities.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE THEATERS, *ODEUM*, AND HIPPODROME AT STOBI AND THESSALONICA AS URBAN NETWORK ACTORS IN ROMAN MACEDONIA (LATE 1ST – 4TH CENTURY AD)

Introduction

This chapter continues Chapter Four's discussion of the mediation of public entertainment venues in Macedonia's cities in the late 1st – early 4th century AD. This chapter examines artifactual and architectural evidence (consumer goods, civic and funerary monuments, and structures and built spaces) for how the theater at Stobi and the theater-stadium, *odeum*, and hippodrome at Thessalonica shaped their urban landscapes by hosting cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions. The example of Stobi's theater serves to further support conclusions reached and hypotheses made regarding Philippi and Heraclea Lyncestis' theaters in Chapter Four. The same can be said for Thessalonica's theater-stadium. Little is known about this entertainment venue's architecture and thus about how it specifically hosted different interactions; however, plentiful material outcomes of its mediation of these interactions have been found across Thessalonica. The city's *odeum* presents a well-studied example of how this kind of entertainment venue helped to expand urban interactions in Macedonia. Lastly, the participation of Thessalonica's hippodrome in its local urban network remains in some ways enigmatic. This participations' effects on Thessalonica's urban landscape are still addressed here because the hippodrome was the only entertainment venue of its kind in Macedonia. The theaters at Lychnidos and Dion are mentioned to emphasize points made regarding Stobi's theater while the *odea* at Dion and Thasos serve as parallels for Thessalonica's *odeum*.

The Theater at Stobi

The Form and Dating of Stobi's Theater

Stobi's theater was built at the southwest edge of the site in an area that had held houses (Fig. 17, #1). Its construction most likely began in the late 1st century AD. Fragments of Western and Eastern Sigillata Types A and B from the theater's foundation fills support this date. Bronze coins minted at Stobi in the time of Vespasian – the latest of the 15 bronze coins found in the same fills – further suggest that the construction of Stobi's theater began in the principate of this emperor, like the reconstruction of Philippi's theater. These were the first issues of the city's coinage and refer to Stobi as a *municipium*. This evidence thus supports that the construction of Stobi's theater began in the 1st century AD's final quarter as a response to Vespasian's grant of municipal status to Stobi. This first phase of the theater was not completed but was instead incorporated into a new plan that was finished early in the next century.[1]

The first plan of Stobi's theater was influenced by Italian architectural trends like Heraclea's theater. The *cavea* was semicircular and supported partly on a natural hillside but largely on vaulted radial wedges. The *analemmata* were aligned with rectangular *parascaenia*, to which they were originally set to be joined by vaulted *parodoi* (Fig. 48). The middle of the scene building was narrow and most likely had a wooden *proscaenium*. A front stage wall was not found, but it could have been removed when the first *scaena* was demolished. The doorways of the *scaenae frons*, which were set into alternating rectangular and curvilinear niches, followed a decorative scheme in *scaenae frontes* built in the 1st century AD in Italy and Spain. Stobi's theater also had a central corridor under the *cavea*, which led into the orchestra from the theater's

[1] Di Napoli 2018, 332; Gebhard 2018, 134; 2012, 328; 1981b, 14; 1975, 46; Janakievski 1998, 39, 67, 150, 152; Mano-Zisi 1981, 4, 14; 1973, 200, 205; Pavlovski 2018a, 407; 2018b, 159; Rnjak 1979, 146-8, Cat. #175; Sear 2006, 419; Perhaps, then, the theater was partially funded by Vespasian or one of his sons, like Philippi's theater

rear side, like other theaters in Italy, Spain, and North Africa. Unlike in these theaters, staircases under the *ima cavea* on either side of this passage led to a *pulvinar*. The amphitheaters at *Augusta Emerita* (built in 8 BC) and *Alba Fucens* (Claudian) and those built under the Flavian emperors at Rome (the Colosseum), Puteoli, and Arles have such staircases.[2]

The first plan of Stobi's theater was similar to that realized at Scupi around the same time (Fig. 3). The size of Stobi's theater, Scupi's too had a semicircular *cavea*, vaulted *parodoi*, and a rectangular *scaena* with doorways framed by alternatingly recti- and curvilinear niches (Fig. 52). The construction of Scupi's theater has been dated between 85 and when Hadrian travelled through Macedonia in 125 AD. A weathered coin found in the mortar of one of the theater's radial walls establishes a *terminus post quem* of the mid-1st century AD for the theater. The style of a pilaster capital from the *scaenae frons* and northern Italian and southern Gaulish *terra sigillata* found around the theater allow a date in the late 1st – early 2nd century AD. Coins of Trajan found in the orchestra's surface and more plentiful ones of Hadrian scattered across the theater indicate the full use of the entertainment building during their principates. The construction of Scupi's theater in Domitian's principate seems best since this date accords with his establishment of the colony at Scupi and the theater's similarities to Stobi's.[3]

Scupi's theater was completed, but the first phase of Stobi's theater was left incomplete between the late 1st and early 2nd century AD. Work stopped at the *scaena*'s first floor and the

[2] Di Napoli 2018, 332; Gebhard 2018, 136, 138; 2012, 334-5, 337, 340; 1981b, 13; 1981a, 198-9; Pavlovski 2018a, 407-8, 410, 413; 2018b, 159, 161, 163, 169, 173, 175; Rnjak 1979, 57-8, 149, Cat. #176; Wiseman and Mano-Zisi 1976, 274, 276.

[3] Jakimovski 2017, 14, 22; Jakimovski et al. 2017, 31, 34, 43, 45-6, 54, 61-3, 104; Janakievski 1998, 43-4, 60, 65, 100; Jovanova 2017, 236; Miloševski and Lilčić 2017, 426, 428, 438; Rendić-Miočević 1981, 45-51; Vulić 1981, 37-43; The similarities between Scupi and Stobi's theaters, their similar dating, and their geographical proximity support the possibility that the same architect(s) guided the construction of the two theaters. Given that Scupi was a veteran colony and that veterans settled at Stobi in the late 1st century AD, one can plausibly speculate that their architect(s) originated in the Roman Empire's western provinces (Fig. 3).

annular corridor supporting the *diazoma* behind the *ima cavea*. It is unclear if the seats had been installed. Construction was completed in the first quarter of the 2nd century AD according to a new plan that looked to lower Macedonia and Greece and Asia Minor for inspiration (Figs. 46 – 48). The appearance of western architectural trends in Stobi's theater thus demonstrates that even during its construction it helped to guide its city's participation in a wider imperial network.[4]

The incomplete scene building was demolished and replaced with a deeper rectangular one with five doorways that communicated by staircases (c. 1.5 m tall) with the orchestra. Each doorway led into one of the *scaena*'s five interconnected rooms, the first and fifth of which were nearly three times as wide as the middle three and had an "L" shape. As Elizabeth Gebhard notes, parallels for the second *scaena* of Stobi's theater include those of the theaters at Termessos, Sagalossos, and Side. The *parascaenia* of the *scaena*'s first plan were demolished, and two wedge-shaped walls were added to the southern walls of the original *parodoi* to create a slightly greater than semicircular seating area. The former *parodoi* became vaulted passages that accessed the *ima cavea* and the corridors that framed the *summa cavea*'s radial substructure.[5]

An orthostat podium wall (c. 1.60 m) separated the *cavea* and orchestra; it was in the theater's first phase since the original east *analemma* was built into the podium's foundations. The top of the wall, which was the walkway at the *cavea*'s base, and the first row of seats were marked with three series of differently sized cuttings. The first series held a short metal grill, the second held beams for netting that also had guidelines to iron rings behind them, and the third (in the first row of seats) held ropes for helping to stabilize the beams (Fig. 51). In the theater's first

[4] Gebhard 2018, 140; 2012, 342-3; 1981a, 197; 1981b, 14; 1975, 46; Janakievski 1998, 150-1; Mano-Zisi 1981, 13; 1973, 205; Pavlovski 2018a, 407, 416; 2018b, 175, 177; Rnjak 1979, 56, 146-8, Cat. #175; Sear 2006, 419.

[5] Di Napoli 2018, 332; Gebhard 2018, 140; 2012, 325, 334, 340; 1981a, 197-8; 1981b, 14-5; 1975, 47; Janakievski 1998, 67, 71, 73-4, 126; 1987, 41; Mano-Zisi 1981, 13-4; 1973, 205; Pavlovski 2018b, 175, 177; Rnjak 1979, 146-8, Cat. #175; Sear 2006, 419.

phase, the *ima cavea*'s six central stairways were meant to continue to the level of the orchestra, as in Dion's new theater. This plan was changed in the second theater since shorter, narrower white marble orthostats were installed at the base of each staircase. Overall, the theater had a capacity of c. 7,000 spectators (± 315 depending on if the *summa cavea* had 15 or 17 rows).[6]

Damage consistent with an earthquake was the impetus for the renovation of Stobi's theater in the later 3rd century AD. The eastern corner of the *scaena* and the upper story of the *scaenae frons* were among the parts of the building that were rebuilt (Fig. 48). The latter gained blue-gray marble columns instead of columns from the rose stone originally used. Structural changes were introduced around the orchestra so that the theater better hosted animal hunts. The central passageway under the *pulvinar* was blocked and became a small room. Similar rooms with single doors were installed at the ends of the *cavea*'s podium wall. A masonry barrier (c. 1.50 m tall) replaced the netting at the top of the wall as a protective measure for spectators. Another masonry wall was built in front of the *scaena*. Used in animal hunts, it was taller than the *scaena*'s lower story, had a narrow space behind it, and held three narrow openings. As in Philippi's theater, sills at the interior ends of the *parodoi* indicate that metal gates could close off the orchestra. Finally, a long storage room was built onto the *scaena*'s western end; a double door connected it to the *parodos* here.[7] All these changes show that Stobi's theater remained a popular hub for interactions (see below) in its city in early Late Antiquity.

Lychnidos' theater underwent similar drastic modifications so that it too better hosted agonistic performances. A few of the *cavea*'s front rows were removed to create a shallower

[6] Di Napoli 2018, 332; Dodge 2009, 40; Gebhard 2012, 325; 1981b, 16; 1975, 47-8, 52-3; Janakievski 1998, 68-9, 100-1; 1987, 34, 41; Mano-Zisi 1981, 13-4; 1973, 205; Pavlovski 2018a, 415-7, 423; 2018b, 163; Rnjak 1979, 146-8, Cat. #175; Sear 2006, 419; Pavlovski (2017, 132) estimates that Scupi's theater had a similar capacity.

[7] Di Napoli 2018, 333; Gebhard 1981a, 198; 1981b, 14, 17-8; 1975, 47; Janakievski 1998, 109-10, 124-5, 151; Mano-Zisi 1981, 14; Pavlovski 2018, 163.

curve, and a tall masonry wall was installed in these rows' place (Figs. 39 – 40). This wall is reminiscent of that placed at the top of the podium in Stobi's theater. It too had three rooms set into it: one at the middle of the *cavea* and one at either end. As in Philippi's theater, the scene building was cut back to create a larger orchestra-arena, but in this case the *scaena* was levelled. The resulting nearly circular orchestra-arena (36.70 m long northwest to southeast) had a drainage channel through the center of its northern half and was approached from the west via a narrow corridor. The southern edge of the arena was straight and set opposite a parallel wall a short distance away, which Malenko posits belonged to a new *scaena* or perhaps a courtyard.[8] Malenko dates these changes to the 1st century AD, but given their similarities to those made to Philippi and Stobi's theaters, they most likely date to the 3rd century AD.

The changes to Stobi's theater in the early 2nd century and the structural updates the theater underwent in the 3rd century AD reflect that the building was deemed necessary to urban life. These changes' functional nature show that the theater was meant to be an active participant in its local urban network's development. Indeed, in the interpersonal connections it facilitated, Stobi's theater helped to shape the cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions that drove Stobi to become perhaps the most successful city in upper Macedonia.

The Cultural Function of Stobi's Theater

The cultural function of Stobi's theater came from its ability to host animal hunts, gladiatorial battles, and dramatic performances, all of which took place in the orchestra. Based on wear patterns on the four porches between these stairways, Gebhard has also suggested that they may have served as small stages. While not as prominently as the *proscaenia* of Philippi,

[8] Malenko 2008, 77; 1981, 24.

Thasos, and Maroneia' theaters permitted, this arrangement would have allowed individual actors to accentuate particular concepts for their audiences' consideration.[9]

During gladiatorial battles and animal hunts, the podium wall and its netting system emphasized the danger faced by gladiators and animal hunters in the arena. Thus, as in Heraclea's theater from the early 2nd century AD and Philippi's from the end of this century, these features were able to help create the admiration that led spectators to value gladiators and animal hunters' skills and courage. As in Philippi's theater after the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD, stone walls installed on top of the podium wall and in front of the *scaena* of Stobi's theater in the late 3rd century AD enhanced this capacity. The *stabula* installed at the *cavea*'s ends at this time allowed animals to be stored under spectators' feet and to be released quickly into the arena. The contemporary stunting of the *cavea*'s central substructure passageway to form a refuge gave hunters a momentary escape from enraged animals. Both the *stabula* and refuge were thus intended to further add to the catharsis-inducing excitement that animal hunts generated. It is unclear if these changes meant the end of dramatic performances in the theater, as is thought for the similar earlier changes to Philippi's theater.[10]

Behind performances in Stobi's theater, the composite column capitals and rose-colored and blue-gray stone of the *scaenae frons* were designed to endorse leisure as the morale-boosting exercise of Stobi's success. As for specific messages the *scaenae frons* helped performances to convey, except for a cuirassed torso (see below) the only remains of its sculpture are fragments of two pilaster capitals. One pictures a tragic mask and so generally promoted the salutatory

[9] Gebhard 1981b, 14; Actors' use of the porches in the *scaenae frons* in turn suggest that the *scaena*'s five stairways served occasionally as speaker platforms.

[10] Gebhard 1981b, 18; In the late 3rd century AD, a long narrow room was also added to the west side of the *scaena*. It likely served as a holding area for animals that were then introduced into the orchestra via the western *parodos*.

effects of catharsis through leisure to Stobi's inhabitants (Fig. 53a).[11] The other bears a relief of a *retiarius* or animal hunter. The figure wears a belt (*balteus*), loincloth (*subligaculum*), and harness and thrusts to the viewer's left with a spear or trident (Fig. 53b). Dated to the 4th century AD, this relief decoration advertised the training and courage of those who fought in the theater. Through such reliefs, the theater helped animal hunts and gladiatorial battles to promote bravery, physical fitness, and martial skill as praiseworthy goals for spectators and performers alike.[12]

Because they depict performers or reference their performances, several ceramic lamps and decorations and stone monuments that were sold and most likely made at Stobi indicate further how the theater shaped the cultural values of its city's inhabitants in the late 1st to early 4th century AD.[13] One lamp (9.9 cm long) dated to the 2nd half of the 3rd century AD has on it a small winged Eros striding to the left and playing a double flute (Fig. 54a). Because the motif of love was common to Roman comedy and farce, Eros was likely frequently referenced or played in a whimsical way in dramatic performances in Stobi's theater. On the lamp Eros also appears as a kind of musician who commonly accompanied pantomimes and mimes. The lamp, then, promote two ideas that the theater would have endorsed. In displaying Eros in a playful manner,

[11] Janakievski 1998, 33; Mano-Zisi 1981, 14; Petruševska 2001, 315; This pilaster can be dated generally to the 2nd – 3rd century AD.

[12] Belgrade museum Inv. #1592; Gebhard 1981a, 197-8; 1981b, 14; Mano-Zisi 1981, 14; Rnjak 1979, 149, Cat. #175b; The pilaster capital measures 0.29 m tall and 0.22 m wide.

[13] Numerous ceramic figurines in the forms of New Comedy and mime actors have also been found at Stobi. Valentina Petruševska (2011) discusses six figurines found in the southwest necropolis in 2006: a seated New Comedy slave, three mime actors dressed as balding old men, an exaggerated dwarf figurine, and an exaggerated dwarf head. Petruševska notes that these and other such figurines from Stobi generally date to the 1st centuries BC and AD but also that they are difficult to date by themselves since their styles change little over time. One 10.5 cm tall figurine of a standing actor who wears the mask of an ugly old man and is wrapped in a toga dates loosely to the 1st century AD. It thus possibly could have been a product of the theater's use toward the end of this century or even in the early 2nd century AD (Museum of Titov Veles Inv. #2009; Rnjak 1979, 53, 115, Cat. #108).

the lamp generally promotes leisure as valuable for its invigorating effects. In showing him as a flautist, it seems to capture and convey an esteem for the rejuvenating effects of musical talent.[14]

A mask of Silenus is on the top of another lamp (9.6 cm long) that dates to the 2nd century AD; Silenus has a wreath at the top of his head, a large handlebar moustache, a bushy beard, narrow eyes under a furrowed brow, and pronounced pursed lips (Fig. 54b). The closed mouth indicates a pantomime mask. A stock of what seems to be wheat and a *θύρσος* frame the face.[15] Since Silenus was known for his dancing and is pictured on the lamp as a pantomime mask, he most likely featured in pantomimes at Stobi. This lamp is thus like the Eros lamp in reflecting the theater's endorsement through pantomimes of values like leisure and artistic expression.[16]

As the above two lamps exemplify, dramatic performances in Stobi's theater encouraged the proliferation of consumer goods that were tangible reminders of the values these events promoted. Although gladiators and animal hunters were likely common decorative motifs for Stobi's craftsmen as well, few examples of gladiator or animal-hunt-themed artifacts are documented for the site. Gladiatorial battles and animal hunts are referenced, however, in two stone monuments that attest to the values they communicated to Stobi's people.

One of these is a highly fragmented *invitatio ad munera* on a white marble slab that had been posted in a prominent public place to capture the attention of passersby. It dates to the early 3rd century AD. The best-preserved portion of the inscription notes that the high priestess Tiberia

[14] Stobi Mus. Inv. #L-76-1; Bieber 1961, 137; Rnjak 1979, 95, Cat. #51; A similar representation of Eros found in Stobi's west cemetery is a figurine of the god playing the lyre on the back of a swan. This figurine pre-dates the installation of the theater, having been made and deposited with other lyre player figurines in the early 1st century AD (Stobi Mus. Inv. #TF-74-25; Rnjak 1979, 130-1, Cat. #162; Wiseman and Mano-Zisi 1974, 138, Fig. 23).

[15] Stobi Mus. Inv. #L-70-11; Rnjak 1979, 218, Cat. #416; A simpler lamp (8.8 cm long) with a similar Silenus face on it was found at Scupi in the eastern necropolis and also dates to the 2nd century AD (Skopje Mus. Inv. #1294; Rnjak 1979, 218, Cat. #417).

[16] Bieber 1961, 165; Dunbabin 2016, 91; Again, see also Lucian's *On Pantomime* (e.g. 22, 65-79).

Claudia and her husband were set to preside over three days of gladiatorial battles and animal hunts.[17] As decoration for a public building, the *invitatio* is a highly-visible manifestation of the theater's endorsement of *otium* as a cultural value through gladiatorial games and animal hunts. The *invitatio*'s existence implies that these were popular at Stobi and so means that the theater effectively promoted traits like professional pride, martial skill, and courage at Stobi.

The second stone monument is a rectangular funerary stele. The name of its dedicator *Αὐρήλιος Σεβῆρος* indicates it dates to the first half of the 3rd century AD. Aurelius Severus identifies himself as an auxiliary referee in a gladiator troupe (*σεκουνδαρούδης*) and the leader of a local guild of gladiators (*προστάτης τοῦ κολληγίου*). On behalf of this guild, he dedicates the funerary stele to the gladiator Kaukasos who had the stage-name "the general" (*Καυκάσῳ τῷ πρὶν Στρατηγῷ*).[18] The qualities that Kaukasos displayed in the arena of Stobi's theater, and thus those for which he was to be well regarded by passersby in death, are not explicitly noted or conveyed visually in a relief. Since he was "the general," however, to spectators Kaukasos likely endorsed qualities such as craftiness, martial skill, and bravery.

The Political Function of Stobi's Theater

These two monuments are manifestations of the theater's political function as well as tangible outcomes of its cultural function. The *invitatio* manifests three possible outcomes of this function. The first is the promotion of the idea that a hierarchy based on wealth, office-holding,

[17] Babamova 2018, 115, 117; 2012, 44-5, Cat. #38; *[καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ]/ Τιβερία Κλ[αθδία - - - - - - -]ιλλα ἡ ἀρχιέρεια · [ἐπιτελέσουσι]ν ἐν τῇ λ[αμπροτάτῃ]/ Στοβαίων [πόλει κυνηγί]ων καὶ μονομ[α]χ[ίων ἡμέρας τ]ρεῖς · ἄρξο[νται δὲ]/ φιλοτιμῷ[ν τῇ πρὸ-]γ' ἰδ(ῶν) Δεκ[ε]μβρ[ίων]*; The *invitatio* was unpublished before Babamova 2012, but its fragments are noted in Šurbanoska and Jakimovski 2012, 42-3. Its fragments were found in the Inner City Wall and the Building with Arches. The inscription's date is based on how Claudii are included in inscriptions from Thessalonica (*IG* X 2,1 183-5; *SEG* 49:817) and Beroia (*EKM* I, 499) in the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD.

[18] *AE* 1997, 1353; HD 053431; PH 153675; *SEG* 47:954; Babamova 2012, 73-4, Cat. #100; Nigdelis 2000, 139-45; *Αὐρήλιος Σεβῆ-/ ρος σεκουνδα-/ ρούδης προστά-/ της τοῦ κολληγί-/ ου Καυκάσῳ τῷ/ πρὶν Στρατηγῷ ἐ-/ κ τοῦ κολληγίου/ καὶ τ[ῶ]ν ἑαυτοῦ/ μνείας χάριν. Χαί-/ ραιται.*The stele is 0.45 m tall, 0.32 m wide, and 0.03 m thick.

etc., was vital to Stobi's prosperity. The *invitatio* reflects and further conveys this idea through the way it casts Tiberia Claudia and her husband as Stobi's patrons. The theater endorsed this hierarchy to spectators and performers by allocating the Claudii and their elite peers conspicuous seats in the *cavea*'s lowest rows because of their wealth and local leadership positions. To visually set apart the four lowest rows, they were of a darker gray marble than that used in the rows behind them. Lines in the first two rows also indicate that seats here were wider.[19]

As in Heraclea's theater, Stobi's local elites took their seats in full view of the spectators seated above them via the walkway at the top of the podium wall. They used staircases at the inner ends of the *parodoi* to get here. These staircases were reached through archways connected to the *parodoi* or through the passages under the *cavea*'s ends (Fig. 49). Also as in Heraclea's theater, the box at the *ima cavea*'s center and the separate entrance into and exit from the box highlighted VIPs (until the late 3rd century AD). Tiberia Claudia and her husband are examples of elites who benefited from this VIP visibility when they presided over their games.

The second outcome of the theater's political function that Tiberia Claudia's *invitatio ad munera* manifests is that the theater reminded spectators of their city's place in a Roman imperial network. The *invitatio*'s preamble once formulaically acknowledged an emperor as the highest political authority for Stobi, Macedonia, and the Empire (like the *invitationes* from Thessalonica discussed later). The inscription also conveys this message by highlighting Tiberia Claudia and her husband as high priests. As high priests of Stobi's cults or high priests of the imperial cult, their duties included ensuring that the emperor and his family were worshipped. The *invitatio* thus evidences that Stobi's theater advertised imperial authority and that this advertisement entailed local priests funding games and offering praise to the emperor. The cuirassed torso from

[19] Gebhard 1981b, 16; Janakievski 1998, 69-70; Wiseman 1984, 578-9; At least 61 seats measuring 1.05 m in width were identified in the lowest two rows.

the *scaenae frons* also belonged to an emperor's statue. In the background of gladiatorial games and animal hunts, it stressed the emperor's overriding military and political authority (Fig. 55).[20]

Lastly, the *invitatio* manifests the theater's capacity to bolster communal identity. The inscription's reference to Stobi as "the most illustrious city of the Stobeans" reveals that the theater could do this through games like Tiberia Claudia's. The inclusion of this standard phrase in the *invitatio* was certainly intended as a guarantee that spectators would enjoy Tiberia Claudia's games enough to warrant holding this idea of their city. How spectators entered and exited the *cavea* was able to reinforce the civic pride that collective experience generally spread among them during performances. The vaulted passages at the ends of the *cavea*, the substructure corridors under the *summa cavea*, and the central passage afforded Stobeans of various socio-economic backgrounds plentiful opportunities to interact (Figs. 46 – 47). The outer circular corridor, the rear wall of which was composed of piers, would have been particularly busy since here spectators could access stairways between the *summa cavea*'s radial walls.[21]

The theater was able to bolster a sense of civic community outside of festivals by hosting meetings of the city council and assembly. As in Heraclea's theater, *phylae* inscriptions on the top of the third row of seats indicates this. Three inscriptions are on the first section of seating on the *cavea*'s west side: *ΦΥΛΗC ΜΑΡΤΙΑC, ΦΥΛΗC ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑC,* and *ΦΥΛΗ[C...] ΟΥΡΙΑΧ*. A small cross on the front of the third row and a line on the top surface of this row marked each tribe's space. Stobi's other tribes were divided among the *ima cavea*'s remaining six *cunei*,

[20] Di Napoli 2018, 332; Gebhard 1981a, 198; Mano-Zisi 1981, 13; 1973, 203; Rnjak 1979, 148, Cat. #175a; Wiseman 1984, 571; The statue has been interpreted as one of Hadrian. As can be seen in the figure, the cuirass's reliefs depict a central figure receiving a crown from two winged Nikes.

[21] Gebhard 1981b, 15; Pavlovski 2018a, 415-6, 424, Fig. 19; 2018b, 169, 171, 173.

although not necessarily in a similar way.[22] By bringing Stobi's tribes together to decide on local issues, the theater was capable of bolstering a sense of community not only among Stobi's magistrates but also among the other members of their tribes. The theater also could have led Stobeans to identify more with their tribes as a form of sub-community identity.[23]

Hundreds of other inscriptions reveal that families and specific members of them became accustomed to sitting in particular places during performances. The name *Σιλβανοῦ*, for example, was inscribed in large letters over a two-meter stretch of the third row in the second *cuneus* from the west, in an area which belonged to the fifth *phyla*. Wiseman estimates that five members of the Silvanus family sat here. Names of members of the Granii family were inscribed on the twelfth seating row in the same *cuneus*. Meanwhile, the Septimii Harmodis, Philoumenos, and Harmos had adjoining seats near the center of the *cavea* in the area of the tenth tribe. Based on Wiseman's early coverage of the personal and family names in the *cavea*, these were inscribed in fairly good form and not hastily in a way that suggests surreptitious carving at performances (Fig. 56). This indicates that families sought permission from a civic authority and paid a fee to secure seats, which in turns suggests that such families were not of humble financial means.[24]

The number of family name inscriptions in the *cavea* and the frequency with which some were re-inscribed over others indicate that the theater regularly facilitated the formation of sub-community identity at this micro-level. These names enhanced the *cavea*'s ability to strengthen

[22] Gebhard 1981b, 15; Janakievski 1998, 70; Mano-Zisi 1981, 6; Sear 2006, 3; Skotheim 2016, 115-6; Small 1987, 89; Wiseman 1984, 578; Wiseman supports the contention that seating according to *phylae* at performances seems too formal. Full coverage of the *cavea*'s inscriptions awaits future publication by Wiseman (Babamova 2012, 15).

[23] Wiseman 1984, 570, Pl. 77, Figs. 7-11b; No inscriptions noting tribal affiliations that securely date to after the theater's construction have been found. Tribal affiliations are noted on a few 1st century AD inscriptions; see Cat. #33, 47, 49, 53, 57 in Babamova 2012. Wiseman provides pictures of personal names on the theater's seats.

[24] Small 1987, 89; Wiseman 1984, 578, 580-2; The name "Sentius" was also found on a seat reused in the north aisle of the late 5th century AD Episcopal Basilica. Wiseman notes how the same family could have taken up two successive rows, too. Based on the evidence Wiseman presents, then, seat inscriptions were seemingly a formal affair, although it should be explored whether some family members claimed seats in a family block this way.

familial relations by consistently allowing certain families to sit together at performances. These inscriptions stood to inspire further material expressions of family identity in the forms of new family name inscriptions in the *cavea* and of new family monuments set up across Stobi.

One such honorific monument was reused in the late 5th century AD basilica north of the theater but was originally posted in a prominent public space like the agora in the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD. It commemorates an extended family that seems to have been one of both Stobi and Macedonia's most prominent. Its members, whose names include those inscribed on the theater seats (Sentius, Septimius, and Silvanus), are attested in inscriptions from Thessalonica, Beroia, and Styberra. The monument's inscription begins with the note that the family was honored in accordance with a decree of the "most powerful" city council and the "most sacred" people (*[Κατ]ὰ τὸ δόξαν τῇ κρατίστῃ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ ἱε[ρ]ωτάτῳ δήμῳ*). This line thus indicates that deliberations at an assembly and perhaps council meeting in the theater led to the monument's production. This line also reveals that the monument is in part an expression of a sense of communal identity that these interactions bolstered.[25]

In the rest of the inscription, members of the family the monument commemorates honor their most accomplished living relatives for local leadership positions that meant they were frequent theater-goers and even *editores*. The family member with the most offices is P. Sentius Septimius Nikolaos, who was a high priest, pontifex, gymnasiarch, and civic patron. All these positions ensure that he frequented the theater, but his roles as high priest and patron mean that he funded performances, too. His grandfather Septimius Silvanus Nikolaos, who is called a "foremost man of his province," honors him in the inscription. Given this title, Septimius

[25] Babamova 2012, 40-1, Cat. #34; Wiseman 1984, 567-9; The monument was a rectangular limestone slab (1 m tall, 1.85 m wide, and 4-5 cm thick). Its inscription was arranged in three rows set in a cyma recta frame. Babamova notes how further members of the same family are included in *IG* 2,1 172 (*SEG* 27:305) from Thessalonica, *EKM* I.100 from Beroia, and *IG* X 2,2 333 from Styberra.

Silvanus quite likely appeared regularly in Stobi's theater and funded games for the city. The same can be said for Publius Sentius' wife Grania Alexandra, who shared her husband's priesthood. Overall, then, the monument manifests how Stobi's theater simultaneously promoted civic pride, a social hierarchy, and a sense of family identity.[26]

As for Kaukasos' funerary stele, it too is in part a manifestation of the theater's ability to promote sub-community identity, in this case among the gladiators who lived at or passed through Stobi. While these performers at times may have entered the orchestra through the *parodoi*, their main entrance into the theater was through the *scaena*. Central doorways in the rear walls of the scene building's large end rooms provided access to the central three rooms and the orchestra. There are no remains of staircases to suggest that the *scaena*'s second floor was usable, but its first floor provided plentiful space for performance preparation and the storage of scenery, props, and equipment. Thus, between the scene building and orchestra, a sizeable portion of the theater represented performers as a group. This factor and the attention performers received through their work allowed them to develop a sense of group identity while leading spectators to view them as a sub-community. Kaukasos' funerary stele expresses the former outcome since it is in part a monument to the entire *collegium* of gladiators at Stobi.[27]

[26] Babamova 2012, 40-1, Cat. #34; Wiseman 1984, 570-3; The part of the inscription that honors Publius Sentius Septimius Nikolaos reads: τὸν ἐ[κ π]ρογόνων ἀρχιερέα/ καὶ π[ον]τίφεκα καὶ γυμνα-/ σίαρχ[ο]ν καὶ πάτρωνα τῆς Στο-/ βαίων πόλεως Π(όβλιον) Σέντιον Σε-/ πτίμιον Νικόλαον ἀδελφι-/ δο[ῦ]ν ὑπατικοῦ Σεπτίμιος Σιλ-/ β[ανὸ]ς Νικόλαος ὁ πρῶτος τῆς/ ἐ[π]αρχείας τὸν ἔκγονον. In the column before this one, Publius Sentius' mother Silvana Kleonika honors his son Publius Sentius Nikolaos Septimius. Another or perhaps the same P. Sentius Septimius Nikolaos is honored as a benefactor, high priest, pontifex, and patron by a Publius Sentius Nikolaos Septimius in another fragmentary monument from Stobi (Babamova 2012, 41-2, Cat. #35).

[27] Gebhard 1981a, 198; 1981b, 15; Janakievksi 1998, 73-4; The doorway in the back wall of the *scaena*'s easternmost room was blocked when the back wall was rebuilt after the earthquake in the late 3rd century AD.

The Religious Function of Stobi's Theater

The best evidence for how Stobi's theater mediated religious interactions among its city's inhabitants comes from the *scaena.* As in Philippi's theater, a shrine to Nemesis was installed in the *scaena* after it was remodeled in the 3rd century AD. The shrine was a small *aedicula* in the center of the rear wall of the *scaena*'s central room. Votive monuments to the goddess were placed in this niche and around the room. Bases for three such monuments were found in-situ.

One was a sandstone slab in the bottom of the *aedicula* that once supported a statue. The inscription on its top surface reveals that "Titus Mestrius Longus (dedicated this) to the goddess Nemesis according to a divine command."[28] The second dedication was a white marble slab that was set on a platform in the wall opposite the *aedicula*. The Latin inscription on its front surface records that the *augustales* Sextus Cornelius Audoleo, Gaius Fulcinius Epictetus, and Lucius Mettius Epictetus dedicated a statue of Nemesis – here called *Ultrix Augusta* – for the divinized emperor (*Deo Caesari Augusto*) and for Stobi (*municipio Stobensium*).[29] The third white marble dedication (now lost) bore a relief, of which was preserved part of Nemesis dressed in a peplos and holding a scale in her right hand. The Greek inscription that accompanied the relief was damaged but seems to have been like that on Longus' monument.[30]

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[28] PH 151108; Babamova 2012, 26, Cat. #13; Hornum 1993, 49, 58, 76; Janakievski 1998, 75, 151; Mano-Zisi 1979, 203; Vulić 1935, #18; Saria 1940, cols. 11-12, #2, Fig. 3; Found in-situ in the early 1930s, this slab (0.70 m tall, 0.85 m wide, and 0.12 m thick) is now lost. In capital Greek letters, it reads*: θεᾷ Νεμέσει κατ' ἐπιταγὴ(ν)/ Τ(ίτος) Μέστριος Λόνγος. vac.*

[29] HD 022611*; ILJug.* 1248; NI Mus. of Maced. Inv. #309; Babamova 2012, 27, Cat. #15; Di Napoli 2018, 333; Hornum 1993, 58, 73; Janakievski 1998, 75, 117-20, 151, #107, Fig. 98; Saria 1940, cols. 8-11, #1, Fig. 2; 1937, 53, Fig. 54; 1929, 8; The slab is 0.85 m tall, 0.45 m wide, and 0.13 m thick. In full its inscription reads: *DEO CAES(ARI) AUG(USTO)/ P(ATRI) P(ATRIAE) ET MUNIC(IPIO)/ STOB(ENSIUM) ULTRICEM/ AUGUSTAM/ SEX(TUS) CORNELIUS/ AUDOLEO/ ET C(AIUS) FULCINIUS/ EPICTETUS/ ET L(UCIUS) METTIUS/ EPICTETUS/ AUGUSTALES/ F(ECERUNT).*

[30] PH 151109; Babamova 2012, 26, Cat. #14; Hornum 1993, 58; Saria 1940, cols. 12-13, #3; *[Θεᾷ Νεμ]έσει Κα[- - - - -]/ [- - - κατ' εὐ]χὴν Κα[- - - -]/ [- - - - - - - -]ΑΣΚ[- - - - -].*

Since gladiatorial games and animal hunts were performed in the theater from the early 2nd century AD, Nemesis was invoked in the theater from this time. Thus, like the reliefs that made up the shrine to the goddess in the western *parodos* of Philippi's theater, the monuments in the scene building of Stobi's theater were material expressions of the building's promotion of Nemesis' cult. It is unclear what the fragmentary dedication and Longus' offering mean for the manner of Nemesis' presentation in the theater. Judging from the scales in the relief on the former, Nemesis was presented in gladiatorial battles and animal hunts as the protector of order and fairness. Longus seems to have thought similarly about the goddess. He was ensuring his safety and good fortune by listening to a divine command to set up a statue in her honor. Hornum supports this idea by referencing a line from Artemidorus' work on dream analysis, which notes that good fortune comes to those who obey the law and are of moderate means when Nemesis appears to them. Thus, for those who saw Longus' dedication, who were mostly gladiators, animal hunters, their support staff, and game organizers, it encouraged them to maintain her cult for their own good fortune and that of Stobi as a whole.[31]

In referring to Nemesis as *Ultrix Augusta*, the *augustales*' monument emphasizes her role as the goddess of vengeance and defender of justice. The epithet *Augusta* indicates that invocations of Nemesis were meant to present her as the defender of law and order not only for Stobi but also for the Empire. Thus, like the theater, the *augustales*' monument promoted Nemesis' cult as a way to guarantee Stobi's stability. At the same time, the monument also promoted the idea that this order depended on allegiance to the emperor and regional and local imperial authorities, such as the *augustales* themselves.

[31] Artemidorus *Oneirocritica* 2.37; Hornum 1993, 76; Again, see Hornum 1993, 62-9 for discussion of Nemesis' iconography and its meaning for what her divine patronage entailed.

Because of his association with leisure and drama, Dionysos was most likely also commonly invoked in the theater at dramatic performances. Dedications to the god dateable to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD are thus plausible evidence for the theater guiding the production of monuments at Stobi by promoting the cult of Dionysos. One such monument is a marble plinth and statue of Dionysos-Liber that was dedicated by the praetorian veteran Lucius Dexius Longinus for the health of Emperor Trajan in 119 AD.[32] The monument thus endorses Stobi's participation in the Roman Empire while promoting the worship of Dionysos for its salubrious effects. Dionysos' connection to leisure and the vitality it afforded easily could have been among the messages conveyed through dramatic performances in the theater and their accompanying ceremonies. The theater also most likely helped to inspire a Dionysiac *thiasos* relief (2nd – 3rd century AD) by leading Stobeans to contemplate how Dionysos was one of the gods who ensured their city's prosperity. The relief shows Dionysos flanked by Pan, a satyr, and worshipers, one of whom holds a ritual torch and a *cista mystica* (Fig. 57).[33]

As in Philippi's theater, Isis is another deity whose worship was likely promoted through festivals in the theater. Suggesting this is a temple to the goddess that was built not far south of the theater near the southwest corner of the city wall in the first half of the 2nd century AD (Fig. 17). Spatially and chronologically, it makes sense that the elites who patronized the cult of Isis at Stobi would promote it publicly through games in the theater. An inscribed monument dedicated

[32] *AE* 1931, 72; 1930, 84; Nat. Mus. in Belgrade Inv. #1587; PH 153730; Babamova 2012, 21-2, Cat. #6; Nikoloska 2012, 303; Vulić 1931, #101 with photo; The plinth is 0.10 m tall and 0.37 m wide. The inscription reads in Latin and Greek: *[pr]o [sal(ute) I]mp(eratoris) Tr[aiani Adriani Aug(usti) Libero statu]–/ [a]m posuit L(ucius) Dex{s}ius Longinus vet[r]anus ex praet(orio)/ Imp(eratore) Caes(are) Traiano Adriano Aug(usto) III P(ublio) Dasumio Rustico co(n)s(ulibus) de s–/ [uis Δ]ιονύσῳ Λ(ούκιος) Δέξιος Λονγεῖνος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἔτους ϛ ξ σ'.*

[33] Babamova 2012, 25, Cat. #21; Nikoloska 2012, 305-6; Nikoloska endorses this idea, writing that in the 2nd century AD the "cult [of Dionysos] gain[ed] its greatest popularity having in mind [sic] the position of the theater in the everyday life of citizens." Rnjak dates this same relief to the 1st century AD (1979, 79, Cat. #6), and Babamova dates it generally to the Roman Imperial period. With the relief is the inscription *Δέμονες Ἀντανο[ί]* (Guardian spirits of the Antani). These Antani are presumably the same elite family mentioned in the road repair inscription from Heraclea (Kalpakovska and Giorgievska 2003, 34, #21).

to Isis in the early 2nd century AD supports this likelihood because it links the goddess to the celebration of the imperial cult. The dedicator of this *sacrum Isidis* T. Flavius Longinus was an *augustal*, and Longinus makes his dedication to *Deo Caesari* and *municipio Stobensium*. As has already been established, the theater was a focal point for the worship of the divine Caesar, particularly through a *Nemeseum.* Thus, the cult of Isis and the imperial cult could have shared games provided through the patronage of elites like Longinus. Spectators' enjoyment of such games would have conveyed well that the worship of Isis offered rejuvenation to Stobi.[34]

The Economic Function of Stobi's Theater

The consumer goods and monuments discussed above were produced and sold at Stobi because of the cultural, political, and religious interactions the city's theater hosted. As yet there is no other evidence for how Stobi's theater shaped its city's economic interactions. Unlike Philippi's theater, it is unclear if there was a square south of Stobi's theater where shops could have been set up. The little building remains found directly north of the theater suggest that houses were here between the 1st and 4th century AD.[35] Given the large crowds that circulated along the theater's rear wall, it could have been a popular area for merchants' stalls, like the exterior wall of Chester's amphitheater in Britain. Beginning in the 5th century AD, most of the substructure rooms of the *summa cavea* held domestic workshops. This activity was plausibly prompted by collective memory of how the rear side of the theater had been used when the building still hosted performances. More excavations are needed to test this hypothesis.[36]

[34] HD 025005; Babamova 2012, 27-8, Cat.#16; Blaževska and Radnjanski 2015, 215-6, 230; NI Stobi, Inv. #I-77-5; Wiseman 1978, 427-8, Fig. 37; The find of a late 2nd century AD, over life-sized marble head of Serapis at Stobi attests to his worship at the site, too. Longinus' dedication is a greyish-rose marble rectangular slab (1.47 m tall, 0.88 m wide, and 0.45 m thick). It was found in a corner of the Episcopal residence's apsidal room.

[35] Gebhard 1981b, 15; Wiseman and Mano-Zisi 1976, 287, 290; See also the "Excavations and Conservation 2012" page at www.stobi.mk.

[36] Holleran 2012, 189-192, 210-1; Wilmott and Garner 2009, 68-9.

In sum, there admittedly remain some holes in the archaeological evidence for how Stobi's theater shaped its urban landscape by promoting cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions. The epigraphical and archaeological data considered above, however, does go some way toward demonstrating the regular participation of Stobi's theater in the interactions it hosted and this participation's ideological and material effects on what urbanism in Macedonia entailed in the 2nd – early 4th century AD. Together with the cases of Philippi and Heraclea Lyncestis' theaters, then, Stobi's theater provides a valuable contribution to this study's argument that public entertainment venues were significant drivers of interactive complexity at local and regional levels in Roman Macedonia. To punctuate this idea, this chapter next considers the theater-stadium, *odeum*, and hippodrome at the provincial capital Thessalonica.

The Theater-stadium, *Odeum*, and Hippodrome at Thessalonica

The following examination of the multifunctional mediation of Thessalonica's three public entertainment venues has the same structure as the discussions of Stobi's theater in this chapter and those of Philippi and Heraclea Lyncestis' theaters in Chapter Four. The architectural remains of the theater-stadium, *odeum*, and hippodrome as well as the modifications these structures underwent are first introduced chronologically. The cultural, political, religious, and economic functions of these entertainment venues are then discussed in turn, again beginning with the theater-stadium and ending with the hippodrome.

The Form and Dating of Thessalonica's Entertainment Venues

Thessalonica's theater-stadium was likely the earliest public entertainment venue built or modified in Macedonia in the late 1st – early 2nd century AD. Unlike the city's odeum and Galerian hippodrome, this structure was only known from literary sources before the 1980s. The first of these is *The Ass*, in which the protagonist is set to appear in Thessalonica's theater. This

reference suggests that the city had a theater by the early 2nd century AD. The second literary source is the 7th century AD collection of tales known as *The Miracles of St. Demetrius*, which refers to a stadium "also called a theater" (*στάδιον τὸ καλούμενον θέατρον*). *The Miracles* aver that this structure was located near the baths in which Demetrius was executed and buried and over which his church was built. With this information, past scholars like Michael Vickers posited that the structure was southwest of the church and northwest of the Roman agora.[37]

Remains of a large public building found along Apellou Street directly northwest of the Galerian palace in 1986 and 1989 offered another possibility. These remains were a 3.50-meter-wide curved wall with a central vaulted entrance that had two side staircases (Figs. 14, 58). A line of seven brick piers and fragments of their marble veneer followed this wall's curve a short distance away. Giorgos Velenis and Polyxeni Adam-Veleni identified the wall as the *sphendona* of the theater-stadium to which the above sources refer. The piers behind the wall are thus what remain of the arcaded exterior wall of the corridor that supported the theater-stadium's seating. This identification is widely accepted and is accepted here, but some still debate it.[38]

The extant wall and brick piers allow for an estimated exterior width of c. 100 m, but it is unclear how long the theater-stadium was. No traces of seating have been found near the 6th century AD church of St. Sophia, so the building was most likely shorter than a usual stadium. This would have justified its abnormal classification and made it similar in design to the *stadia* at Athens, Delphi, and Rhodes. The theater-stadium's construction date was difficult to ascertain because of high groundwater in the excavation area and the identification of only c. 6% of the

[37] Luc. *The Ass* 8.49, 53; *PG* 1178-1184; Di Napoli 2018, 325-6; Sear 2006, 420-1; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1992, 241; Vickers 1971; Vitti 1996, 63, 96-9; Vickers and Vitti review past scholars' thoughts on where the theater was.

[38] Adam-Veleni 2016b, 155; 2010, 97-100, 161-2; Sear 2006, 420-1; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 2016a, 159-61, 163, 169-70; 1992, 242-4, 246-7, 249; Vitti 1996, 64-5, 215-6, Cat. #99; Vitti thinks that Velenis and Adam-Veleni's identification is premature and posits that this was a building associated with the Galerian palace. He also suggests that a Hellenistic – Early Roman theater was located near the Church of the Archangels in northeast Thessaloniki.

discovered bronze coins. Since coins of the Flavian emperors were in the *sphendona*'s lowest excavation layers, the theater-stadium seems to have been built by the last quarter of the 1st century AD. This dating would make the theater-stadium's construction contemporary with that of the theaters at Stobi and Scupi and the modification of Philippi's theater.[39]

The theater-stadium's construction in the late 1st century AD means it would have coincided with the first phase of Thessalonica's Roman agora (Fig. 14). As was noted in Chapter Two, the agora was built in or soon after Vespasian's principate after an earthquake destroyed the baths at its southeastern corner. On the east side of the first agora were three rooms flanking a *bouleuterium*, of which only the orchestra was uncovered.[40] Both the beginnings of a monumental agora and the theater-stadium are thus indicators of Thessalonica's success as a complex urban network with healthy interregional connections by the late 1st century AD.

The *bouleuterium* was expanded into an *odeum* in the third quarter of the 2nd century AD (Fig. 59). The *odeum* held c. 200 people. Its seating was expanded again in the early 3rd century AD to hold twice as many spectators.[41] By this time, the *odeum* had a semicircular *cavea* with an upper *diazoma* that was supported on radial vaults. The orchestra was paved, deepened, and surrounded by an orthostat podium wall (1.60 m), which afforded better acoustics. The orchestra was accessible through vaulted *parodoi* under the *cavea*'s ends (Fig. 60). Staircases at the orchestra's front corners accessed a tall narrow stage (1.86 m wide), which was decorated with

[39] Adam-Veleni 2016b, 155; 2010, 97-100, 161-2; Di Napoli 2018, 325; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 2016a, 159-61, 163, 169-70; 1992, 242-4, 246-7, 249; Vitti 1996, 64-5, 215-6, Cat. #99; Zarmakoupi 2018, 269.

[40] Adam-Veleni 2010, 104, 164; 2001, 26, 29-30, 324-5; Kalavria and Boli 2001, 43-4, 326; Lolos 2009, 271; Valavanidou 2001, 119-20, 329-30; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 2016b, 178; 1997, 14, 18; Yeorgaki and Zografou 2001, 65-6, 69, 327; Zarmakoupi 2018, 269; Future excavations will likely reveal further examples of large-scale construction projects that began in the late 1st century AD.

[41] Adam-Veleni 2010, 104, 164; 2001, 26, 30, 324; Di Napoli 2018, 325; 2017, 409, 411; Kalavria and Boli 2001, 46-7, 326; Vanderspoel 2010, 271; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 2016a, 178; 1997, 18; Zarmakoupi 2018, 269.

11 alternating rectangular and semicircular niches lined with marble veneer. The narrow scene building communicated with the agora's double stoa through five marble-lined doorways.[42]

Thus, Thessalonica's *odeum* looked much like others built across the Roman Empire's eastern provinces in the second half of the 2nd and first half of the 3rd century AD. It was also like many of them in that it was a major feature of Thessalonica's agora, which was also rebuilt on a monumental scale between the third quarter of the 2nd and early 3rd century AD. Less than half of the agora has been excavated, but it had a "Π" shape with its open side to the north along a street that ran through the city's center (Figs. 14, 59). The agora's courtyard is estimated to have been 146 x 97 m. On its east, south, and west sides was a two-story, two-aisled Corinthian-colonnaded stoa, which provided an impressive façade for spaces along the agora like the *odeum*.[43]

Because of the terrain at the agora's south side, the two-aisled stoa here was built on two *cryptoportici*. Along the outer one was a row of shops that likely supported two upper stories. This lowest row of shops had entrances onto a marble-block paved street c. 2 m wide. This street communicated with the agora via a staircase at the latter's southeast corner, where another north-south street ended.[44] Aided in large part by the *odeum*, this agora complex was built both to better allow Thessalonica to host a high volume of interactions among the many diverse human and material actors that had come to characterize its urban landscape and to boast of this success.

[42] Adam-Veleni 2010, 104, 107-8, 164; 2001, 26, 30, 324; Di Napoli 2017, 411; Sear 2006, 421; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 2016a, 179-180; 1997, 20-1; Vitti 1996, 187, Cat. #66.

[43] Collart 1937, 329-41, 354, 358; Gounaris and Gounari 2004, 47-50; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2000, 38-41; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 2016a, 178; 1997, 6, 8, 10; The entire west side of the agora has not been excavated, but its relative location has been determined through small rescue excavations. As is noted above, the contemporary monumental agora at Philippi was formally similar but smaller (my Fig. 6, #9).

[44] Collart 1937, 364; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1997, 8, 10, 16; Zarmakoupi 2018, 270; Philippi's agora also had shops and a commercial street set along its south side, but these were set into a two-story stoa.

Thessalonica's *bouleuterium* was expanded into an *odeum* around the same time as Dion's *odeum* was built – the later third quarter of the 2nd century AD. Like Thessalonica's *odeum*, it too was part of a monumental complex. Located a block south of Dion's agora and directly inside the central gate in the city's southern fortification wall, this complex included the "Great Baths" and a colonnaded courtyard (Fig. 10, #1). Two approaches accessed this courtyard between the *odeum* and baths (Fig. 61). One was a staircase just inside Dion's southern gate between public latrines and a series of stores stretching to the north. Another that led to the agora was an enclosed hall between the baths and the western side of the *odeum*.[45]

Similar in size to Thessalonica's *odeum*, Dion's *odeum* had a somewhat different form. Its semicircular seating area, which is estimated to have held around 400 people, was instead composed of wooden seats on brick beddings. This *cavea* had four stairways running through it and was supported on a vaulted brick substructure. Twelve Ionic columns supported the building's roof at the top of the *cavea* (Figs. 61 – 62). The *cavea*'s lowest row was at the edge of the orchestra. The equally low platform at the base of the *scaena* supported four Ionic columns of the same kinds as those at the *cavea*'s top. These two pairs of columns were set between the *scaena*'s three doorways, which communicated with the Great Bath complex's courtyard. The *odeum* was also accessed through its *parodoi*, two staircases at the back of its eastern and western sides that led to the top of the *cavea*, and a central opening in its rear wall that accessed the interconnected substructure vaults and the *parodoi*. Like Thessalonica's *odeum* and agora,

[45] Adam-Veleni 2010, 109, 164-5; Chaniotis 2016, 51; Di Napoli 2018, 324; Karadedos 2016, 101; Karadedos et al. 2014, 21, 23-4, 41-3; Oulkeroglou 2017, 290-3, Figs. 3-4: Pandermalis 1999, 139, 141; Pandermalis has suggested on the style of their statuary that the "Great Baths" were built in the third quarter of the 2nd century AD. Oulkeroglou instead supports a Severan date for the complex.

then, Dion's *odeum* and Great Baths were substantial additions to this city's urban landscape that conveyed its renewal as a city, spa center, and regional sanctuary in the late 2nd century AD.[46]

Thasos' *odeum* was structurally similar to Thessalonica and Dion's *odea*, especially to the *odeum* at the former site. The *scaena*'s remains consisted of a line of four rectangular blocks. The scene building thus had a vestigial form like that of Dion's *odeum* and/or was predominantly wooden. A short podium wall (c. 1 m) separated the *cavea* from the orchestra; the middle staircase reached the orchestra (Fig. 63). The orchestra's diameter (12.92 m) was between that of Thessalonica (16.30 m) and Dion's *odea* (c. 10 m). The *analemmata* and substructure remains behind the extant four rows of seats reveal that the *cavea* had two tiers supported on a vaulted substructure. Thus, while formally similar to Thessalonica and Dion's *odea*, Thasos' *odeum* was seemingly more than twice as large with a capacity of c. 1,100 spectators.[47]

Like Thessalonica and Dion's *odea*, Thasos' too was part of a larger building program. The *odeum* was set a short distance south of the agora off the city's main northeast-southwest street (Fig. 64). Along with this street (Fig. 64, #43), which was repaved at the same time as the *odeum*'s construction, other nearby contemporary projects included houses on either side of the *odeum* and an Ionic colonnaded courtyard across the street (Fig. 64, #40). Because of the structural and contextual similarities among Thessalonica, Dion, and Thasos' *odea*, it is tempting to date the construction of all three to the same time. Thasos' *odeum*, however, can only be dated generally between the second quarter and end of the 2nd century AD.[48]

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[46] Adam-Veleni 2010, 109-11, 164-5, Fig. 78; Di Napoli 2018, 324; Karadedos 2016, 102-11; Karadedos et al. 2014, 21, 24, 27; Pandermalis 1999, 138, 141.

[47] Adam-Veleni 2010, 102-4; Béquignon and Devambez 1932, 247-8, 252, 256, 258-9, 261-2; Bonias and Marc 2016, 247-8; Di Napoli 2018, 328-9; Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 81-2; Karadedos 2016, 108; Sear 2006, 420.

[48] Adam-Veleni 2010, 102, 163; Béquignon and Devambez 1932, 233, 235, 237, 246-7, 260, 266-70, 284-6; Bonias and Marc 2016, 248; Di Napoli 2018, 328; Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 82, 146-7, Fig. 33; Sear 2006, 420; Béquignon and Devambez excavated the area of the *odeum* (1925 – 1931). Y. Béquignon and P. Devambez dated

During Julians' reign there was an attempt to expand Thessalonica's *odeum* to nearly three times the size of Thasos' by turning it into an open-air theater, which would have made the *odeum* capable of seating 2,500 – 3,000 spectators. This ambitious project was suspended. Before it stopped, the *scaena* had been extended into the inner aisle of the adjacent two-aisled stoa, the *summa cavea*'s vaulted substructure had been built, and two large staircases for the *summa cavea* took the place of the rooms on either side of the *odeum* (Fig. 59).[49]

In the 4th century AD, Thessalonica was still the capital of a (now smaller) province of Macedonia but had also become the capital of the diocese of Macedonia (Fig. 5). This elevation in regional and interregional administrative status beginning in the late 3rd century AD led Galerius to reside in the city at a palace complex built 300 – 305 AD northeast of the port (Fig. 14, #2 – 4). The palace was built over an extramural cemetery that dated to the Hellenistic period. The construction of Galerius' palace thus added a new sector of monumental, predominantly public structures to Thessalonica. This sector spanned the southeastern portion of the city and so drastically expanded Thessalonica's capacity as an interactive hub.[50]

Galerius' palace generally had the same features as the contemporary imperial palaces at Milan, Antioch on the Orontes, Trier, Aquileia, Sirmium, and Constantinople. At its core was an administrative building, a basilica, and a hippodrome (Fig. 65, #12, 11, 18). It was originally

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the *odeum* and the structures around it to the second half of the 2nd century AD based on their construction techniques. They also suggested, however, that a monument found near the *odeum* (my Fig. 64, #44), which was dedicated to Hadrian and Sabina after the foundation of the Panhellenion, could indicate the *odeum*'s construction in Hadrian's *principate*. Supporting this date is how it would make the building's construction contemporary with the modification of Thasos' theater. The inscription on the monument reads: *Αὐτοκράτορι/ Καίσαρι/ Ἀδριανῶ Σεβαστῶ/ Ὀλυμπίω/ Σωτῆρι καὶ κτίστη/ καὶ Σαβείνῃ/ νέα Ἥρα*. Zisis Bonias and Jean-Yves Marc aver that the *odeum* was likely built in the third quarter of the 2nd century AD.

[49] Adam-Veleni 2010, 107-8, 164; 2001, 28, 30; Di Napoli 2018, 325; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 2016a, 181; 1997, 20-1; Vitti 1996, 63; Zarmakoupi 2018, 269.

[50] Adam-Veleni 2016c, 183; 2010, 113, 165; Athanasiou et al. 2015, 372; Vickers 1970, 244-5; Vitti 1996, 63, 105-6, 118, Cat. #97-109, 111; Zarmakoupi 2018, 273, 275; As Vitti notes, the space between the palace's southern end and the port is enigmatic.

thought that the administrative building held the emperor's quarters, but scholars like Fani Athanasiou and colleagues now think these were elsewhere, which would leave the building as a venue for formal audiences. It had a central courtyard surrounded by audience and dining rooms and an outer gallery. A basilica for formal audiences was attached to the residence's eastern side and accessed from its gallery at the basilica's northwestern and southwestern corners. A street 9 m wide separated the basilica from the hippodrome's western side, but a long corridor that led to the basilica from the north (#9) provided access to an imperial box (*kathisma*).[51]

The hippodrome was the focal point for most of the public's interactions at the palace. Only small portions of the entertainment venue have been excavated since it is positioned under modern streets and buildings. Most of it is set under "Hippodrome Square" and the buildings at its sides. The angle of this modern street shows that it was aligned with the hippodrome's *spina*, the southern end of which was found at the street's southern end. Six sections of seating on the hippodrome's eastern side were found in excavations in the 1960s. They revealed that an orthostat podium wall with a covered drainage channel at its base separated the *cavea* from the track. The seating rested on walls braced against Thessalonica's eastern fortification wall. The hippodrome's *sphendona* was at its southern end and the *carceres* at its northern one (Fig. 65).[52]

While remains of the starting gates have not been found, foundations discovered south of modern Egnatia street supported walls at the northern edge of a courtyard north of the *carcares*

[51] Adam-Veleni 2016c, 183, 185-6; 2010, 116, 166; Athanasiou et al. 2015, 375-7; Di Napoli 2018, 326; Dyggve 1941, 67; Mango 2012, 37; Vespignani 2001, 84-5; Vitti 1996, 112-3; Zarmakoupi 2018, 275; The restoration of the imperial residence, the basilica, and the Octagon (1994 – 2014) is presented in the two-volume publication of Athanasiou et al. (2015).

[52] Adam-Veleni 2016c, 184-5; 2010, 114, 166; Di Napoli 2018, 326; Vickers 1972, 26-8; Vitti 1996, 216-7, Cat. #100, 107, Pl. 8.

(Fig. 62). Vickers hypothesized that there was a monumental entrance at the gates' center.[53] A few stretches of the podium and substructure walls of the western side of the hippodrome's seating were also found, primarily along the structure's southern half. One northern stretch at which a vault and three entrances into the arena were attested is thought to have been set close to the imperial box (#10). In excavations at the hippodrome's northwestern side in 1939, E. Dyggve noted a structure decorated with small marble columns and marble wall veneer, which fits the description of an imperial box. Dyggve did not note this structure's exact position, however.[54]

Overall, Thessalonica's hippodrome is estimated to have been c. 470 m long and 125 m wide, to have had a track 85 m wide, and to have held c. 15,000 spectators. These dimensions would have made it as large as the hippodrome at the Tetrarchic palace at Milan.[55] The hippodrome at Thessalonica thus afforded a large-scale expansion of space for public entertainments and for the various other kinds of interactions that took place during them. The *odeum* and theater-stadium continued to function after the hippodrome was built. Decorative pillars and columns were even added to the superstructure of the theater-stadium's *sphendona* in the early 4th century AD. The *sphendona*'s entrance communicated with the Galerian palace complex by a street north of a colonnaded courtyard (Fig. 65, #14). This street paralleled another that led to the hippodrome at the southern end of the complex's forecourt (Fig. 65, #7).[56]

[53] Adam-Veleni 2016c, 186-8; 2010, 117, 166; Vickers 1972, 29; Vitti 1996, 114, 116, 216-8, 224, Cat. #100, 107, Pl. 8; Vickers had posited that the starting gates were at the hippodrome's southern end. Vitti suggests that the foundations found at the northern end of the hippodrome belonged to the starting gates themselves.

[54] Adam-Veleni 2016c, 186-8; 2010, 113-4, 117, 165-6; Dyggve 1941, 66, Fig. 5; Lemerle 1939, 313; Vickers 1972, 28, 32; Vitti 1996, 115, 217-8, Cat. #100, Pl. 8; Vickers placed the imperial box opposite the end of the *spina*.

[55] Adam-Veleni 2016c, 186-8; 2010, 114; Vickers 1972, 28; Vitti 1996, 115, 217, Cat. #100, Pl. 8.

[56] Di Napoli 2018, 326; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 2016a, 163; 1992, 248-9.

Thessalonica's theater-stadium, *odeum*, and hippodrome were settings for a variety of cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions over their many decades of use. The *odeum* is nearly fully excavated, and of the three public entertainment venues, its surroundings are the best studied. A fair deal can thus be said about the kinds of interactions it hosted, how it accommodated them, and the material forms that seem to have arisen from its mediation. Enough of the other two entertainment venues' architecture and surroundings are known to discuss how they too hosted similar interactions and shaped their city through them. Moreover, plentiful architectural decorations, funerary monuments, and consumer goods found across Thessalonica attest to the theater-stadium's participation in cultural and political interactions in its city.

The Cultural Function of Thessalonica's Entertainment Venues

Thessalonica's theater-stadium at least hosted dramatic performances and athletic events. Since only the exterior wall of the theater-stadium's *sphendona* has been excavated, it is as yet unclear how exactly it accommodated these performances. Both most likely took place directly on the track. As Adam-Veleni suggests, however, perhaps a wooden *scaena* and stage were sometimes placed opposite the *sphendona* to better stage dramatic performances.[57] Various finds from across Thessalonica, which are discussed below, also attest to the staging of gladiatorial games and animal hunts in the city in the 2nd – 3rd centuries AD. The theater-stadium is the only entertainment venue known to have existed since the early 2nd century that was capable of hosting these performances. Like circuses across the Roman Empire, the hippodrome was structurally capable of hosting gladiatorial games and animal hunts beginning in the early 4th century AD, but there is no evidence that it did in addition to the theater-stadium. So that the

[57] Adam-Veleni 2010, 100, 161-2; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 2016b, 159-61, 163; 1992, 247.

theater-stadium could host these entertainments, a podium wall like that in Delphi's stadium (c. 1.5 – 2 m tall) would have separated the theater-stadium's track from the lowest row of seating.[58]

Like those found at Heraclea Lyncestis and Dion, a stone theater mask found at Thessalonica was most likely originally set up in or near either the theater-stadium or *odeum* and so can be understood as a product of either's cultural function. Dated to the 2nd century AD, it depicts a young man with a furrowed brow, large sad-looking eyes, and a pursed downturned mouth (Fig. 66). The antefix thus represents a mask used in tragic pantomimes and so suggests that these were performed at Thessalonica at least in the 2nd century AD. The antefix wears a Phrygian cap labelled "Astyanax." This identification is odd since Astyanax was a baby when he was killed in the story of the Sack of Troy. The antefix thus represents the mask of a generic actor who, by wearing the labelled cap, played Astyanax in spirit. As in such a mask's potential use in a performance, the antefix was intended to evoke contemplation of Astyanax's fate. This means that through the performances it held and the decorations that framed them, the theater-stadium (or *odeum*) encouraged spectators and performers to value catharsis through leisure or to learn moral lessons from tragic themes (e.g. the unavoidability of fate or the dangers of *furor*).[59]

That the theater shaped the cultural values of its city's inhabitants along these lines is manifested in the grave altar of the actor M. Varinius Areskon (Fig. 67). Dated to the last quarter of the 2nd century AD based on its style, the altar's relief shows a frontal view of the deceased

[58] Adam-Veleni 2010, 98, 100, 161-2; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 2016b, 161; 1992, 241, 247; It is of course unclear if the podium wall was solid, as in Delphi's stadium, or if staircases led to the track as in Philippopolis' stadium. In the latter case, iron grills would have sealed the staircases during animal hunts to protect spectators. Such grills may have been lowered into place during gladiatorial battles, but as was noted in footnote 34 in Chapter 4, it seems highly unlikely that any gladiators would have tried to escape into the theater-stadium's *cavea*.

[59] *BCH* 37, 17, #34; *IG* X 2,1 267; *LIMC* II, 935, #36; *MΘ* 1827; Despinis et al. 2003, 65-6, Fig. 509-10; The stone antefix is 0.415 m tall, 0.32 m wide, and made of white marble. Its find provenance is unknown; since the theater-stadium was the primary location for dramatic performances at Thessalonica, it was more likely located here than in the *odeum*. The *Σ* in *ΑΣΤΥΑΝΑΞ* is reversed; the inscription's lettering suggests the date in the 2nd century AD.

with a mask at the right side of his head. The mask is the visage of an older woman with long straight hair, a wide-open mouth, and a pained expression. Areskon is shown as a young man with a short beard and combed hair set in comma locks across the forehead. He wears a long-sleeved *chiton* with two patterned bands on the right sleeve and a broad decorative belt. He also wears a sword belt over his right shoulder and waves at the viewer with his right arm. Areskon's clothing and the mask at his head indicate he was an actor in traditional tragedies in the theater-stadium. Overall, his monument captures that his parents Varinia Areskousa and Lucius Senatius Oikios, who dedicated the altar, and Thessalonica's inhabitants in general valued the tragic themes that the theater-stadium's performances explored. The grave altar also reflects that some actors who lived in the city earned respect through their professional skill.[60]

Two funerary stelae dedicated to actors at the beginning of the 3rd century AD convey much the same about how the theater-stadium shaped cultural interactions at Thessalonica. One commemorates the mime *Λ. Κανουλείος Ζώσιμος*. Esteem for his skill as an actor is referenced in the epithet *μαλακός* ("flexible"), which describes the ability of mime actors to play various roles. The other grave stele is dedicated to an actor identified as "the pleasant *Attalian* actor" (*ὁ Τερπνός Ατταλεύς*). Both monuments thus indicate that mimes and comedic farces were performed in Thessalonica's theater-stadium. More importantly, however, like Areskon's altar they also show that the city's people generally internalized the various tragic and comic themes and moral lessons explored by these displays and could look positively on their performers.[61]

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[60] *IG* X 2,1s 1386, Tab. XXXVIII; *ΜΘ* 9815; *SEG* 36:646; 43:468; 47:973; Adam-Veleni 2010, 68-9, 150; Despinis et al. 1997, 182, Figs. 357-8, Cat. #140; Vitti 1996, 63; The altar was found in 1985 in Thessalonica's eastern wall at 30 Melenikou St; it measures 1.49 m tall, 0.72 m wide, and 0.64 m thick, and is made of gray marble. Some coloring (black, brown, and red) is preserved on the relief's surface. The relief frame is topped by a pediment with a central rosette flanked by stylized leaves. The altar's inscription reads *Λ(ούκιος) · Σηνάτιος Οἰκῖος · καὶ Οὐαρε[ι]-/ νία · Ἀρέσκουσα · Μάρκῳ Οὐρ[ι]-/ anaglyphum/ νίῳ Ἀρέσκοντι τῷ τέ-/ κνῳ μνήμης χάριν. Hedera.* Areskon's performances can be placed in the theater-stadium since it was the primary venue for these at Thessalonica

[61] Adam-Veleni 2010, 68-9, 149; 2006, 39-43, 45-8; Stephanis 1988, 191, 423, #1042, 2399.

The many clay figurines of actors that were found in Thessalonica's eastern necropolis are symbolically similar material outcomes of the theater-stadium's mediation of dramatic performances. Figurines of tragic actors were well-suited to funerary contexts as expressions of themes like human suffering. Those of characters such as the pensive, senile old man or the conceited old concubine capture an attempt to ward off grief or evil by invoking the *joie de vivre* that the exaggerated portrayals of every life in mimes and pantomimes promoted.[62]

Other finds from across Thessalonica attest that the theater-stadium shaped its urban landscape by accommodating athletic events. For example, because the entertainment venue encouraged Thessalonica's inhabitants and visitors to value *otium* and athleticism by hosting athletic events, marble plaques that advertised athletic festivals were sometimes set up as architectural decorations. Two well-preserved examples of such *invitationes* were found in the pavement of the *odeum*'s orchestra, which strongly suggests they were regularly posted in the agora. Discussed below, these invitations record that in the mid-3rd century AD the athletic events in Thessalonica's theater-stadium included those associated with interregional Kabeiran Pythian games. This means that the theater-stadium also hosted the dramatic performances and musical contests that were associated with these festivals.[63]

A votive altar that was set up at an unknown location in Thessalonica records the outcomes of interregional Pythian games in 252 AD. Because the altar publicizes the victors of

[62] Eckardt 1999, 61-5, 79; Mitchell 2013, 277-9; Petruševska 2011, 318, 320-1; Petruševska mentions the examples of mime actors and dwarves. Examples of tragic and comic figurines and clay theater masks are displayed in Thessaloniki's archaeological museum. As Eckardt and Mitchell note, few scholars have attempted to explain what such figurines meant as votive and funerary offerings. Both authors suggest ideas for these figures' meanings based on which stock characters from mimes they represented, as I do.

[63] Adam-Veleni 2010, 72, 73-4, 127, 150, Fig. 44; Seating tickets were seemingly issued to at least some spectators for these Pythian games since one for the latter was found in Thessalonica's agora. On one side it is decorated with a crown containing *ΠΥΘΙΑ* while on the other is the seat number ΙΙΙ Γ (Adam-Veleni 2009, 601-5). It is unclear if horse races were part of the Pythia celebrated at Thessalonica, or if the theater-stadium hosted these.

the festival's musical, dramatic, and athletic events, it is in part a material outcome of the theater-stadium encouraging Thessalonians to value the traits and ideals displayed in these events. These included professional skill, natural talent, courage, and determination. Those who are commemorated for such cultural values include a tragedian, a singer who accompanied a kithara player, a kithara player, a poet, and a trumpeter. Athletes are also honored for victories in events like the *pethathlon*, *dolichos*, *stadion*, *diaulos*, *pale*, *pygme*, and *pankration*. The theater-stadium boosted the reputations of athletes and musicians of foreign origin (e.g. Athens, Thebes, Argos, Alexandria, and Pergamon) by facilitating their victories. It thus also helped to promote similar values in the communities of the provinces to which these victors returned and at which they later performed, in turn bolstering cultural interactions at an interregional level.[64]

Another monument that was most likely shaped by the theater-stadium hosting athletic events is a funerary stele that Ignatia dedicates to her son the *ephebe* Claudius. Dated to the first half of the 3rd century AD, the stele's relief presents the young man as an intellectual and athlete (Fig. 68). The *himation* wrapped tightly around his body and bent left arm indicate his erudition as a young member of Thessalonica's traditionally philhellene elite community. The scroll in Claudius' right hand further attests to his education. A tall palm branch with a wreath crown above it as well as an amphora signify his success as an athlete, which indicates that athleticism and associated qualities like martial skill were valued by Thessalonica's influential families. Claudius received his athletic education at a gymnasium, but his regular appearance in the theater-stadium as a spectator with his family and young elite peers would have been critical to

[64] *IG* X 2,1 38; PH 137220; *MΘ* 1684; Adam-Veleni 2010, 67-8, 147-8; Stephanis 1988; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1992, 247, 250; The altar, which is in the sculpture garden of Thessaloniki's archaeology museum, was found in a fountain in Kallithea. The *Pythia* in the altar's inscription were the fourth at Thessalonica, which means that the festival was introduced in 240 AD.

his physical and moral education. The entertainment venue is thus in part responsible for the form of Claudius' grave stele and its capacity to promote cultural values at Thessalonica.[65]

The aforementioned *invitationes* from the *odeum* record that the *Pythia* they advertise included animal hunts and gladiatorial games (*κυνηγεσία καὶ μονομαχία*). A painted scene of these events accompanies one of the invitation's inscriptions. Extant figures include one animal hunter with a bare chest and a spear labelled "the trampler" (*Ληνοβάτις*) and another named "the ox" (*BOIΣ = Βούς*). A tiger (labelled *τίγρις*) is pictured as an example of the animals that were to appear. The gladiator *Κερδείτης* ("the profiteer") is shown with a rectangular shield and a sword. These two invitations thus manifest that the theater-stadium promoted gladiatorial games and animal hunts as beneficial displays of traits like courage, physical strength, and martial skill.[66]

The same can be said about several stelae from Thessalonica that are dedicated to deceased gladiators and a sarcophagus dedicated to a deceased referee. Their inscriptions and reliefs present the deceased as worthy of the public's esteem because of their professional skills. On the sarcophagus, which dates to the second quarter of the 3rd century AD, Aurelia Heraeis honors Nepotianus Amyntianus as "the sweetest husband" and as a gladiatorial trainer and referee (*secunda rudis*), a position that likely means he was also a former gladiator. The relief in the middle of the inscription shows the deceased wearing a tunic and holding tools of his trade: a referee's switch in his right hand and a *rudis* in his left (Fig. 69).[67]

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[65] *BCH* 1975, 181, Fig. 9; 1973, 598; *IG* X 2,1 729; *MΘ* 1213; Adam-Veleni 2010, 74; Despinis et al. 2003, 238, Cat. #320, Fig. 1000; Smith 1998, 63, 65-6; Van Nijf 1999, 190-3; The unprovenanced marble stele is 0.39 m tall and 0.275 m wide. It reads: *Εἰγνατία Κλαυδίῳ/ Οὐάλητι τῷ τεκνῳ/ Μνήμης χάριν*. Newby (2005, chapter 6) argues for the link between athleticism and martial skill in Roman Greece by looking at ephebic inscriptions and reliefs at Athens. Such monuments include the same symbols of athleticism: palm branches, wreath crowns, and amphorae.

[66] *IG* X 2,1s 1074-5, Tab. VI-VII; *MΘ* 19475-6; The painted figures are on the first *invitation* (1074). Flaig (2007, 84-6) briefly discusses how gladiators at Rome were understood as modeling "Roman" cultural values.

[67] *IG* X 2,1 550; *MΘ* 5686; Carter 2018, 125; Ducros 2018, 344; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1992, 251, 255, Fig. 9; Found in the area of Thessalonica's eastern necropolis, the marble sarcophagus is now in the statue garden of Thessaloniki's archaeological museum. The inscription reads: *Αὐρηλία Ἠραεὶς Νεπωτιανῷ anaglyphum Ἀμυντιανῷ*

The gladiatorial funerary stelae from Thessalonica emphasize their subjects' professions in their reliefs. Two dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD show heavy gladiators armed and ready to fight. One shows Peitherotes the *secutor* (judging from his helmet) advancing right with a tall, curved rectangular shield and a short straight sword (Fig. 70). He wears a padded sleeve, a *balteus* and *subligaculum*, and a left greave. In front of him is a palm branch, which symbolizes his successful career.[68] The other stele shows the bearded Lupercus ("wolf hunter") with a curved dagger and a curved rectangular shield with a Gorgon head decoration (Fig. 71). He wears a padded sleeve on his right arm, a *balteus* and *subligaculum*, and greaves. To his left, the little boy Apollonis – seemingly Lupercus' son – proffers the helmet of a *thrax*, and a little dog jumps at his foot. These figures suggest to the viewer that Lupercus deserves praise for his dedication to his family and for his courage and martial skill.[69]

Two other stelae show gladiators standing as victors before the viewer with their armature prominently displayed. One dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD is dedicated to the *secutor* Leukaspis. His crested helmet is set on a rectangular shield on the ground to the deceased's left, and to his right is a palm branch and small dog (Fig. 72). Over Leukaspis' left shoulder are 13 wreath crowns in three rows, which indicate the number of times an *editor* and the crowd in the theater-stadium hailed him as a victor.[70] A stele dated to the 3rd century AD

σεκουνδαρούδῃ/ τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ συνβίῳ anaglyphum μνεί^{V}*ας* ^{V} *χάριν. οἰκουμένης.* It is unclear to what extent *summae* and *secundae rudes* were former gladiators. Scholars commonly accept that many or most were (see for example Carter 2018), but some like Méryl Ducros posit that these referees were never former gladiators (2018, 350-1).

[68] *IG* X 2,1 306 (without photo); *MΘ* 1984; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1992, 251, 256, Fig. 12; This white marble stele (0.45 m tall, 0.24 m wide, and 0.13 m thick) was found in 1959. The inscription reads: *Μαξίμα/ Πειθέρωτι*.

[69] *IG* X 2,1 300 (without photo); *MΘ* 2233; Ducros 2018, 348; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1992, 251, 255, Fig. 11; Found in a tomb near Syntibaniou square, this marble stele is 0.465 m tall, 0.28 m wide, and 0.055 m thick. The inscription is: *Θεοδώρα/ Λου- anaglyphum πέρ-/ κῳ anaglyphum τῷ ἰδί-/ ῳ ἀνδρὶ / Ἀπολ-/ λώ-/ νις/ μνήμης/ χάριν.*

[70] *IG* X 2,1 739; *MΘ* 1292; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1992, 251, 256, Fig. 13; The unprovenanced white marble stele (0.44 m tall, 0.43 m wide, and 0.06 m thick) bears the inscription: *Φιλουμένη Λευκάσπιδι/ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρεὶ μνήμης/ χάρειν.* This Leukaspis may be the same one whose name appears at the top of an architrave block decorated

shows the gladiator (perhaps a *secutor*) Korinthion (Fig. 73). He wears a *balteus* and *subligaculum*, harness, and left greave and holds a short sword in his right hand. He places his left hand on top of his helmet, which is set on top of his rectangular shield on the ground. From Korinthion's stance it is clear that he presents himself to the viewer as worthy of esteem for his career.[71] Finally, a fifth stele (late 2nd – early 3rd century AD) honors the successful career of the gladiator Strobeilos (the "whirler") by showing him reclining on a couch (Fig. 74). His armature is present in the form of an oval shield with a helmet perched on top. To the left of the shield is a row of three wreath crowns, which further highlight Strobeilos' renown-winning prowess.[72]

As with the theater-stadium's accommodation of dramatic performances, its promotion of certain cultural traits and leisure through gladiatorial battles and animal hunts was also expressed in consumer goods. For example, lamps produced at Thessalonica in the 3rd century AD bear reliefs of gladiators and animal hunters in action. One example shows a *murmillo* standing over a fallen opponent, another heavy gladiator. Another lamp shows a *κυνηγέτης* with a spear attacking a bear. The decorations on these lamps were meant to evoke the traits and behaviors showcased in animal hunts and gladiatorial battles (Fig. 75). They thus express that the theater-stadium encouraged spectators to value ideas such as courage, showmanship, and martial prowess.[73]

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with a gladiatorial relief, which features *secutores*, that was found at Augusta Traiana (see Chapter Seven). This architrave block can be seen at Vagalinski 2009, 180, Cat. #58 (with picture).

[71] *IG* X 2,1s 1263, Tab. XXVI; *ΜΘ* 11016; *SEG* 56:783; Mann 2011, 206, #55c; Petsas 1974, 306; This stele (0.42 m tall, 0.275 m wide, and 0.045 m thick) was found in 1969 in the Ραμόνα area of Thessaloniki. The inscription at the bottom of the relief reads: *Ἀρτεμεισία Κοριν-/ θίωνι τῷ συμβίῳ/ μνείας χάριν.*

[72] *ΑΕΜΘ* 1989, 251, #10, Fig. 14; *IG* X 2,1s 1241, Tab. XXIV; *ΜΘ* 3127; *SEG* 40:556; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1992, 251, 256, Fig. 14; This white marble stele (0.305 m tall, 0.21 m wide, 0.045 m thick) was found in 1963 in a tomb in the Ραμόνα area. The inscription below the crowns reads: *Εὐτυχία/ Στροβείλῳ/ τῷ ἀνδρὶ/ μνήμης χάριν.*

[73] *ΜΘ* 9867, 16242; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1992, 251, Figs. 15-6; Such lamps displayed in Thessaloniki's archaeology museum.

Later in the third quarter of the 2nd century AD, Thessalonica's *bouleuterium*-turned-*odeum* began to hold small-scale public entertainments. Its small narrow stage was able to accommodate a few speakers, singers, or musicians at the most while its orchestra was capable of holding a larger group of such performers. The greater depth of the orchestra after the *odeum*'s reconstruction ensured that the audience had a clear view of performers there or on stage. The discovery in the orchestra of three life-size statues of Muses that came from the *scaenae frons* suggests the performances the *odeum* hosted in the early 3rd century AD.[74]

The positions of Muse #6681's arms indicate she most likely held the tablet and stylus of the Muse of history *Κλειώ* (Fig. 76a). Her presence in the *odeum* suggests it hosted declamations on history. Muse #6682 wears a pigskin and a broad belt over her *chiton* and *peplos* (Fig. 76b). This clothing associates her with dramatic performances, but the lack of other attributes makes it unclear if she is *Μελπομένη* (tragedy), *Θάλεια* (comedy), or *Εὐτέρπη* (tragic chorus). Despinis et al. suggest *Εὐτέρπη* since the other two typically hold masks and the remains of this statue's arms are not positioned to do so. This Muse thus suggests that tragic choruses took place in the *odeum*. Lastly, Muse #6683 holds a pic (*plektron*) in her right hand, which means she once held a *kithara* (Fig. 76c). She is *Ἐράτω* the Muse of love poetry, which was quite likely recited in the *odeum*. In its performances, then, the *odeum* encouraged spectators to value ideas like historical knowledge, tragic themes, emotional expression, and artistic training. The Muses also indicate that despite the small size of the *scaenae frons*, it's decoration still supported performances' messaging.[75]

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[74] *ADelt* 1963, 199, pl. 239α-β; *BCH* 1965, 801, Figs. 4-5; *ΜΘ* 6681-6683, 6129; Adam-Veleni 2001, 28; Despinis et al. 1997, 123-5, Cat. #93-6, Figs. 254-68; Di Napoli 2018, 325; 2017, 409; Vitti 1996, 187; Kalavria and Boli 2001, 46-7, 326; All three Muses are set on plinths and made of white marble that was likely quarried near Thessalonica. Muses 6681 and 6683 are 1.76 m tall, but Muse 6682 is 1.89 m tall. A fragmentary fourth Muse (the bottom of a *himation*, feet, and part of a plinth) was found in Dikastirion Square around a block southwest of the agora.

[75] *ΜΘ* 6681-6683; Despinis et al. 1997, 124-5, Figs. 254-268, Cat. #93-6; Di Napoli 2017, 411; Vitti 1996, 100-1; Muse #6681 wears a *chiton* and *himation* while 6683 wears a *peplos*, *chiton*, and *himation.* Despinis et al. and Di Napoli suggest that the other Muses were represented in the *odeum*'s sculptural program as well.

Even after the capacity of the *odeum*'s *cavea* was doubled in the early 3rd century AD, its small size indicates that its audiences were small segments of its city's population. A couple factors suggest that such audiences in Thessalonica's *odeum*, and in other *odea* in Macedonia and Thrace, were predominantly composed of elites. The first factor is that the *odeum* was Thessalonica's *bouleuterium* and so regularly hosted meetings of the city's wealthy leaders. The second factor that could mean the *odeum* catered more to Thessalonica's elites is that the performances modern scholars typically associate with *odea* across the Roman Empire included types more dependent on a higher education (e.g. declamations and recitations of poetry and philosophy). As a setting for the shaping of elite culture in its urban landscape, Thessalonica's *odeum* would have been a successor to the earliest Macedonian theaters at Aigai and Pella.[76]

The portrait head of a philosopher Herrenianus that was found in the Villa of Dionysos at Dion (Fig. 10, #4) suggests the kind of monuments that were produced because of the cultural values Thessalonica's *odeum* promoted. The head was relocated to the Villa in the later 3rd – 4th century AD from the Great Baths, where the herm to which it belongs and fragments of another copy of this herm were found (Fig. 77). This display location in the same complex as the *odeum* plausibly makes the herms material products of the entertainment venue's cultural function. The baths and their courtyard would have been highly suitable places for spectators of philosophical presentations in the *odeum* to discuss the lessons they learned. Such interaction readily explains why Herrenianus' herms were dedicated at the baths, where they were able to promote education and various philosophical concepts as values to the people who viewed them. Herennianus' herm

[76] For scholars' thoughts on the performances in *odea*, see the examples of Karadedos et al. (2014, 21), Sear (2006, 38), Izenour (1992), and Thompson (1950). There are no studies that gather literary, epigraphical, and archaeological evidence for the performances that *odea* hosted. Izenour 1992 is still the fullest treatment of Roman *odea* but is predominantly an architectural study. It seems that for the most part only scattered sculptural evidence from *odea* across the Roman Empire is available to suggest specific answers to this question.

is even inscribed with a maxim ("one image between the two and one form for either one; we are two, as you see") and so suggests the theories for which he received recognition at Dion.[77]

Thessalonica's hippodrome added chariot races to the public entertainments that were offered at the city. Like other hippodromes across the Roman Empire, Thessalonica's possibly hosted mimes, pantomimes, musical displays, and animal hunts on occasion. Accommodation of the last performance, however, of course would have required iron grills to block any staircases that accessed the track through the *cavea*'s podium wall. Excavations have so far not verified the existence of such staircases. The hippodrome was also able to host gladiatorial battles in the first two decades of its existence. Since it was part of an imperial palace, however, it is unlikely that it did so after Constantine first condemned these entertainments in the 325 AD.[78]

The sarcophagus of the charioteer Uranius Porphyris is an indicator of how chariot races in the hippodrome were able to inform spectators and performers' values. The sarcophagus' relief shows Uranius in a *chiton*, belt, and tall padded boots (Fig. 78). In his left hand he holds a palm branch that signifies his many victories. In his right, he holds a whip by his head; a basket to his left seemingly holds other tools of his trade. The sarcophagus' inscription, which is written from the point of view of Uranius' wife Aurelia, complements this image of a performer who gained renown for being a victorious professional. It describes Uranius as "an admirable man

[77] Chaniotis 2016, 51, 124; Oulkeroglou 2017, 305; Pandermalis 1999, 149, 157-8; The inscription on the intact Herrenianus herm reads: *Εἷς τύπος ἐν δοιοῖσι/ καὶ ἀμφοτέροις μία μορφὴ/ οἱ δύο δ' ὡς ὁρᾷς ἐσμὲν/ Ἑρεννιανός.* Miranda Marvin (1983, 374) notes that herms were not common sculptural decorations for baths but were common for settings for formal education such as gymnasiums and libraries. This point further supports the idea that the *odeum*'s hosting of philosophical presentations promoted the dedication of Herrenianus' herms at the baths. Since herms were usually set up in open spaces as Marvin notes, it is also possible that the herms were originally in the courtyard and moved into the baths after they fell out of use. Literary and sculptural evidence for performances in the Odeum of Agrippa at Athens corroborate the likelihood that Dion's odeum hosted rhetorical and philosophical displays. Philostratus notes that the sophists Alexander of Seleucia (II.5.4) and Philagros of Cilicia (II.8.4) gave rhetorical displays in the "Agrippeion" in the 170s AD, and two seated philosopher statues (one of which was an Epicurean) were displayed in front of the entertainment venue around this time (Thompson 1950, 132).

[78] *CTh* 15.12.1; Pharr 1952, 436; This edict to Maximus the prefect (*per Orientem*) was posted at Beirut.

worthy of the city's memory" and "favored by the Blues." Both praises are presented as reasons why the public should provide funds for the upkeep of Uranius' sarcophagus. The monument thus exemplifies that the hippodrome shaped Thessalonica culturally by encouraging spectators to esteem performers' skills and qualities like courage and perseverance.[79]

The Political Function of Thessalonica's Entertainment Venues

While they shaped their city's cultural interactions in the 2nd – 4th centuries AD, Thessalonica's theater-stadium, *odeum*, and hippodrome also helped to build various political connections among spectators and performers. Together they helped to maintain a hierarchy based on factors such as wealth and profession while at the same time contributing to the development of sub-community identities and a sense of a unified civic community. They also promoted Thessalonica and Macedonia's assistance in the administration of the wider Roman imperial network. Compared to the *odeum*, though, the theater-stadium and hippodrome were more "democratic" in two significant respects. The performances they hosted seemingly catered more to both non-elites and elites, and they afforded much more seating. As is attested for the hippodrome (see below), this greater capacity to host political interactions among non-elites seems to have afforded them a greater chance to challenge the hierarchical *status quo*.

The theater-stadium's remains barely attest to how it endorsed a social hierarchy through its seating and avenues for crowd circulation. Hints come from the *sphendona*'s central entrance and its flanking staircases. Performers likely on occasion used the entrance to either access the

[79] *BCH* 1973, 599, #842; *IG* X 2,1 842; *MΘ* ΑΓ 93; The white marble sarcophagus' find provenance is unknown; it measures 1.085 m tall, 2.11 m long, and 1.06 m wide. The inscription on the relief's left side read: *ὸν(!) πολῆς μνήμης ἄξιος,/ παράδοξος ἐνθάδε κεῖτε./ τὴν σορὸν ἐκκ τῶν κοινῶν/ τολμήση χωρὶς τῆς/ τῷ εἰερω<τά>τῳ ταμίωι χρυσοῦ/ εὐνόησε Βενέτῳ (!) ὡς τάχα Οὐράνις*. On the relief's other side are the lines: *ὢν Οὐράνιος εἰνίοχος/ Αὐρηλία Πορφυρὶς ηγόρασ^{V}α/ καμάτων. ἤ τις ἕτερος/ τελευτης μου (!), δώσι/ λίτραν μία^{v}. οὐδίς ποτε/ κεῖτε δὲ ἐν τῷ σίλικι* [= *silex*] *ὡς ἀνέσθητος* [= *ἀναίσθητος*]. ("Here lies an admirable man thoroughly worthy of the city's memory. May he who was Uranius, favored by the Blues, who is without gold for the required care of his coffin, provide for it with the help of public funds. Since Uranius was a charioteer, Aurelia Porphyris toiled to buy this coffin. Let any companion of my death give a pound (of money). No one ever thus lies on a wise old man as a thoughtless one.").

track after spectators who sat in the *sphendona* had used the stairs to get to their seats or to leave the track at the end of performances before spectators used this exit. Performers' use of this entrance separately from spectators was able to reinforce the idea that they were of lower status because of their profession and/or legal status. This is less likely in the case of athletes, though, since across the Eastern Mediterranean they were historically regarded with fairly high esteem. If a performer had won esteem through his performances, his entrance into or exit from the theater-stadium this way was able to boost his celebrity appeal and so his perceived status.

Given that seating in the *sphendona* offered a good view of the track, it is likely that Thessalonica's religious and civic leaders regularly used the entrance in the *sphendona* as well. This means that this entrance into the theater-stadium would have increased people's recognition of these elites' higher status. Most of this recognition was assured through the high visibility afforded by seats for Thessalonica's upper-class inhabitants in the lowest two rows of the theater-stadium's *cavea*, again, most likely in the *sphendona*.[80]

That the theater-stadium's architecture could drive spectators and performers to conceive of their relationships with each other in hierarchical terms is manifested well in three funerary monuments dedicated to deceased elites. These monuments specifically demonstrate in their decoration that Thessalonica's elites saw their attendance at and funding of the theater-stadium's entertainments as support for their status. These monuments thus also attest that the theater-stadium bolstered a sense of sub-community among its city's elites.

The first monument is the grave stele of the *ephebe* Claudius. His formal athletic training means that he and his family were regular upper-class spectators at athletic events in the theater-stadium. These experiences, and the esteem for athletics they helped to cultivate in Claudius and

[80] As is noted in the next chapter, a VIP box over the entrance in the *sphendona* of Philippopolis' stadium indicates that this city's elites sat here when watching athletic events.

his parents, thus played a part in leading the youth's family to commemorate him as an athlete. Inherent in Claudius' grave monument is the idea that attendance at athletic events and athletic training were significant indicators of elite families' status and identity.[81]

The other two monuments are richly carved Attic sarcophagi that date to the first half of the 3rd century AD and that were originally in Thessalonica's western necropolis. One is decorated with a deeply carved Amazonomachy on its body, and its lid is a couch on which a man and woman recline. The couch's side reliefs show *Erotes* hunting lions and bears in a rocky wilderness (Fig. 79).[82] The other sarcophagus, which Poplia Antia Damokratia Pautaleioteisa dedicated to her husband Bitalios Hrestitoutos, has a deeply carved body and a lid shaped like a couch with two people reclining on it. The body displays Dionysiac scenes and a fight between centaurs and griffins while the lid's front edge is split into four relief scenes that show fighting animals. The two end scenes show dogs chasing deer while the central scenes are of a bear fighting a bull and three dogs closing in on a boar (Fig. 80).[83]

The hunting reliefs on the two sarcophagi's lids are certainly generic decorative scenes evocative of ideas such as martial skill, courage, and success. Because of the animals they

[81] Newby 2005, 9-10; "Athletic activity could play a crucial role in the construction of elite masculine identities."

[82] *AA* 1940, 266f, Fig. 74; 1939, 255f; *BCH* 1939, 315, pl. 64; *MΘ* 283; Despinis et al. 1997, 166-7, 169, Cat. #134, Figs. 336-40; Makaronas 1940, 475; This sarcophagus was found outside Thessalonica's western wall 5.30 m under Eirene Street. Made out of Pentelic marble, it is 2.18 m tall, 2.96 m long, and 1.355 m wide. Its lower corners are also decorated with *Erotes* riding *bigae*, which seems to generally allude to public entertainments since chariot races did not yet have a permanent venue when the sarcophagus was carved (220-30 AD based on style).

[83] *BCH* 1930, 496; *IG* X 2,1 572; *MΘ* 1247; *SEG* 26:749; Despinis et al. 2010, 333-7, Cat. #640, Figs. 1797-1800; Kallipolitis 1958, 27, #153, Fig. 4*α-β*; Petsas 1974, 39; This Pentelic marble sarcophagus is 2.33 m long, 1.17 m wide, and 1.30 m tall and was found under Lakkada Street west of Thessalonica's western wall. The first two lines of the inscription in which the dedicator and deceased are noted read: *Πο(πλία) Ἀντία Δαμοκρατία Παυταλειώτεισα περιοῦσα τὴν σορὸν ταύτην ἠγόρασα ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν καμάτων τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ μου συμβίῳ/ Βιταλίῳ Ῥεστιτούτῳ τῷ διασημοτάτῳ μνησθεῖσά σου τῆς καλῆς ψυχῆς κὲ πρῶτον μάλιστα τῶν γλυκυτάτων σου τέκνων* ("I the exquisite Poplia Antia Damokratia, a citizen of Pautalia (in Thrace), bought this coffin from the funds of my labors for my sweetest and most eminent husband Vitalius Hrestitoutus, having remembered your beautiful soul and certainly foremost your sweetest children.").

portray and the presentation of the *Erotes* on the first sarcophagus as trained hunters, however, they are also reminiscent of the animal hunts and fights with which the sarcophagi's owners would have been familiar through entertainments in Thessalonica's theater-stadium. Thus, it is plausible that the families of the deceased requested these kinds of scenes for the two sarcophagi because they signaled to viewers that the deceased and their families had regularly gained public acclaim for their elite status through attendance at the theater-stadium's performances. Moreover, Thessalonians who viewed the sarcophagi were able to connect the ideas conveyed by its generic agonistic scenes with their own experiences of the exciting demonstration of these ideas in Thessalonica's theater-stadium. Thus, the scenes were able to more vividly advertise the deceased as morally educated and civically engaged. In these ways, then, the decorative animal hunting and fighting scenes on the sarcophagus would have underscored the deceased's high status and their participation in their city's elite sub-community.

The grave altar of the actor Areskon, sarcophagi of Nepotianus Amyntianus and Uranius Porphyris, and gladiatorial funerary stelae discussed above also attest to the theater-stadium's capacity to challenge the social hierarchy it helped to sustain. As was generally the case across the Roman Empire, the actors, gladiators, and charioteers who lived at and travelled through Thessalonica faced a degree of disdain and curtailed legal rights because of their profession.[84] The above monuments indicate that some performers partially overcame these disadvantages through their performances in the theater-stadium. The sarcophagi's size and the capable craftmanship of them, the gladiatorial stelae, and Areskon's monument attest to the money and greater standing these performers gained through the entertainment venue's mediation. The overt references to the deceased's professions in these monuments' reliefs and inscriptions indicate to

[84] Flaig 2007, 84; Wistrand 1992, 39; Vagalinski 2009, 86-8.

the viewer how they achieved the success reflected in these monuments' physicality. In this way, these products of the theater-stadium's political function joined the entertainment venue in encouraging Thessalonica's inhabitants and visitors to view performers with a degree of respect.

At the same time, each of these monuments reflects and so had the capacity to promote a sense of sub-community among the performers they commemorate, their families, and their troupes' associated personnel. By highlighting Nepotianus' role as an instructor and referee of gladiators, his sarcophagus especially underscores his sense of belonging to Thessalonica's resident community of gladiators. Its inscription also does so by indicating through the word "local" (*οἰκουμένης*) that Amyntianus was an inhabitant of Thessalonica. This word additionally carries the idea that his involvement in his city's gladiatorial sub-community did not disrupt but instead contributed to him and his family being a part of the larger civic community.

Indeed, the theater-stadium was able to reinforce a sense of unified civic community and civic pride for all who performed in or attended its performances. Material outcomes of this capacity include civic coins minted in the reigns of Gordian III (238-44), Philip the Arab (244-9), and Gallienus (253-68 AD). These coins' reverses typically commemorate Thessalonica's Pythian games by reading *ΘΕCCΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ ΠΥΘΙΑ* and bearing images that include Apollo; a Kabeiros (by itself or miniaturized in Apollo's hand); and tripods, prize urns, and palm branches as symbols of victory. Many of these coins' reverses also note Thessalonica's *νεοκόρια* status in some way. This coinage thus shows in the messaging of its designs that the *Pythia* and the building that hosted them were sources of civic pride because they advertised the idea that Thessalonica was a prosperous hub for cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions.[85]

[85] Adam-Veleni 2010, 67, 147-8; Vitti 1996, 63; For examples of these coins, see the entries under Gordian III, Philip I, and Gallienus at http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/macedonia/thessalonica/. There are several variations of the standard formula; for example, the coins may read *ΘΕCCΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ* but show in their imagery that they recall the Kabeiran Pythian games.

As the altar in honor of the Pythian games of 252 AD suggests, the theater-stadium had the potential to be an especially significant generator of civic pride for Thessalonians on the occasions of *Pythia* and *Actia* because these games advertised the city's prosperity to performers and spectators who were visiting from other parts of Macedonia and from nearby provinces. Moreover, the mid-3rd century AD timing of these games and minting of the coins that commemorated them – at a time when the Empire was facing substantial external military threats – would have further highlighted their intended message of Thessalonica's success, as well as that of the province of which Thessalonica was the capital. It is also worth noting that the emperor's visage on the obverse of the above coins reflects how in the theater-stadium during the *Pythia* and *Actia* the advertisement of Thessalonica's prosperity was linked to the promotion of imperial authority. By linking the emperor's image and name to Thessalonica's *Pythia* and *Actia* like the coins, the rites that accompanied these games in the theater-stadium would have conveyed the ideas that the entire Empire was still well, despite the external threats it faced, and that the military acumen of the reigning emperor was in large part responsible for this success.

The two largely-intact *invitationes ad munera* found in the pavement of the *odeum*'s orchestra are further examples of material actors that political interactions in the theater-stadium produced. Although they announced future games, they were commissioned because the theater-stadium successfully promoted cultural values and political ideas in past performances. The expectation in the *invitationes* is that the entertainment venue would similarly shape interactions in its local and regional urban networks through new performances. After these games the invitations were reminders of their (hopefully) beneficial effects on their city for however long they remained in public and so were able to promote the same ideas that led to their creation. As is noted above, these decorations were most likely posted in the agora before they were reused in

the *odeum*.[86] They are particularly remarkable because their inscriptions' formulaic structure succinctly documents most facets of the theater-stadium's political function.

The earlier invitation advertises Actian Kabeiran Pythian games ([*τῶν Ἀκτίων Καβειρί]ων Καισαρίων/ Πυθίων*) and a day of animal hunts and gladiatorial battles (*κυνηγεσίων καὶ μονο[μαχιῶν ἡμέραν μίαν*) presented at Thessalonica in 259 AD (Fig. 81).[87] This is the *invitatio* on which are preserved traces of painted scenes of the hunts and fights that spectators were to expect. The second invitation advertises Caesarian Triumphal Kabeiran Pythian games (*τῶν μεγάλων Καισαρείων Ἐπινεικίων Καβειρίων Πυθίων*) in 260 AD that also entailed a day of animal hunts and gladiatorial battles (*κυνηγεσίων τε κ[αὶ μονο]μ[αχιῶν] ἡμέραν μίαν*).[88] The names of the same game-givers are preserved on both invitations: Tiberius Claudius Rufrius Meno and his wife Baebia Magna. On the first invitation, the former is identified as the provincial governor, Macedoniarch, high priest of the imperial cult, and local *ἀγωνοθέτης* while the latter is identified as the high priestess of the imperial cult.[89] The second invitation is slightly different; Meno is also highlighted as the high priest of Kabeiros and the game-giver for the Macedonian *κοίνον*, and Baebia is also called Macedoniarch.[90] The two *invitationes*' mention of

[86] *IG* X 2,1s 1074-5, Tab. VI-VII; *MΘ* 19475-6; The orchestra was likely repaved between the last two decades of the 3rd and middle of the 4th century AD. This means that unless the *invitationes* were taken down and stored before they were reused, which seems unlikely, they were meant to be fairly long-lived architectural decorations. Both invitations are very thin (0.5 cm) fine-grain, white marble plaques. They are c. 0.90 m tall; one (1074) is 1.19 m long while the other is 1.75 m long. The letter on both was highlighted with now faded red paint.

[87] *ΑΕΜΘ* 1994, 162; *BE* 1998, 259; *IG* X 2,1s 1074, Tab. VI; *MΘ* 19475; *SEG* 56:748; 50:638.

[88] *ΑΕΜΘ* 1994, 162; *BE* 2000, 273; 1998, 259; *IG* X 2,1s 1075, Tab. VI-VII; *MΘ* 19476; *SEG* 56:748; 49:817; Adam-Veleni 2009, 601-5; Ducros 2018, 345; Nigdelis 2009, 143-159; Rizakis 2007, 1208-9.

[89] *τοῦ ἱεροῦ π[ραιτωρίου Κλαύδιος 'Ρούφριος Μένων] - - - - - - - -] καὶ Μακεδονιάρχης/ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης...καὶ Βαιβία Μάγνα ἡ ἀξιολογωτάτη ἀρχιέρει[α].*

[90] [*τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου]/ Τιβ(έριος) Κλ(αύδιος) 'Ρούφριος Μένων ὁ κρ(άτιστος) ·ἱ·εροφάντης τοῦ ἀγειωτάτου θεοῦ Καβείρου καὶ διὰ βίον ἀγωνοθέτη[ς τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων]/ καὶ Μακεδονιάρχης καὶ ·β'· ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τῆς λαμπρᾶς Θεσσαλονει[κέ]ων...καὶ Βαιβία Μάγνα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀξ(ιολογωτάτη) Μ[ακεδονιάρχι]σσα καὶ ·β'· ἀρχιέρεια.*

Baebia and her husband thus tangibly underscores that the theater-stadium played a role in constructing a social hierarchy as well as an elite sub-community in its city.

These two invitations also render into material form the capacity of Thessalonians' shared experiences in the theater-stadium to help build a unified civic identity among them. This capacity is captured in the same phrase on both invitations: that Meno and Baebia are providing lavish games for "Thessalonica, the most brilliant metropolis, colony, and twice *neokoros*" (*ἐπιτελέσουσιν [φιλοτιμί]αν ἐν τῇ λαμ-/ προτ<ά>τῃ Θ[εσ]σαλονεικέων μητροπόλι καὶ κολωνείᾳ καὶ ·β'· νεωκόρῳ*).[91] The implied promise – apparently supported by precedent – is that Meno and Baebia's games will further substantiate Thessalonica's claim to preeminent regional status both for its inhabitants and for visitors from across Macedonia.

Lastly, the theater-stadium's capacity to encourage loyalty to Roman imperial authorities is referenced throughout the invitations. Such references include that Meno was Macedonia's governor and the game-giver for the provincial assembly and that he and his wife were Macedoniarchs and priests of the imperial cult. That individuals with these titles funded performances in the theater-stadium indicates that Thessalonians were expected to and generally did leave the entertainment venue more favorable to Roman administration than before. This effect of the theater-stadium's Pythian games in particular is especially probable since they were dedicated in large part to the emperor. The games' official names and the dedications that begin each *invitatio* indicate this. The first dedication is for the health, safety, success, and long-lasting reign of the emperor (*ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νείκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τῶν μεγίστων καὶ θειοτάτων κυρίων ἡμῶν ἀηττήτων Αὐτοκρατόρων*), and the second is to the Roman Senate, armies, people, and provincial governor (*ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου καὶ ἱερῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ δήμου τοῦ*

[91] This is the phrase on the *invitatio* from 260 AD. On the earlier invitation, the phrase is: [Rufius Meno and Baebia Magna] *[ἐπιτελέσουσιν φιλοτιμίαν ἐν τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ Θεσσαλον]ικαίων μητροπόλει/ καὶ κολωνείᾳ καὶ δὶς νεωκόρῳ*.

'Ρωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἐξοχωτάτων ἐπάρχων τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου). In looking forward to games, then, the *invitationes* imply that the theater-stadium in the past successfully bolstered the idea that Thessalonica and Macedonia's prosperity depended on Roman imperial administration.[92]

By hosting meetings of the city council and small-scale dramatic performances, Thessalonica's *odeum* was able to shape political interactions in its local urban network similarly to the theater-stadium. As is noted above, however, in both contexts the *odeum* catered to only a few hundred (c. 400), probably largely upper-class spectators instead of a larger cross-section of its city's population. It thus promoted a sense of hierarchy, civic community, and involvement in the wider Roman imperial network slightly differently than the theater-stadium and hippodrome.

As for how the *odeum* was able to bolster the idea that a social hierarchy was essential to Thessalonica's prosperity, this effect most likely occurred more outside the structure than in it. While the *odeum*'s *cavea* articulated differences in wealth and public office among spectators based on proximity to the orchestra, this hierarchical display was not as bold as that in the theater-stadium or hippodrome simply because less of Thessalonica's inhabitants were present. Moreover, if indeed the *odeum*'s target audience was largely upper-class, which was certainly the case when it held council meetings and likely the case when it hosted performances (see above), the awareness of status distinctions the *odeum* promoted would have been tempered somewhat by its promotion of a sense of an sub-community among elites.

[92] A third *invitatio* found in the *odeum*'s orchestra advertises Actian Alexandrian games at Beroe in 252 AD (see *AEMΘ* 1994, 162; *BE* 2000, 473; 1998, 259; *IG* X 2,1s 1073; *MΘ* 19474, Tab. V; *SEG* 56:748; 49:815). In its form and inscription, it is very similar to the other two. The presiders at these games were also Ti. Claudius Rufrius Meno and Baebia Magnia, who hold the same positions as in the other *invitationes*. Fragments of a fourth *invitatio* from the *odeum*'s orchestra only reveal that its games were in the mid-3rd century AD (see *AEMΘ* 1998, 162; *BCH* 1996, 120; *BE* 2000, 473; 1998, 259; *IG* X 2,1s 1076; *SEG* 62:450; 49:818). Fragments of a fifth *invitatio* were found in 1984 in a Late Antique tomb in Thessaloniki's Ξηροκρήνη suburb; it advertises the Pythian games that took place in Philip's reign (see *ADelt* 1989, B, 236 litt. Maiusc.; *BE* 1998, 261; *IG* X 2,1s 1072; *SEG* 46:816; 39:638).

Depending on who a performer was, how performers entered the *odeum* could have bolstered a status distinction between them and the audience. Between the later 2nd and the third quarter of the 4th century AD, audience members ascended into the *cavea* via staircases at the ends of the narrow *scaena* after they entered the three, central rear doorways (Fig. 60). Performers entered the orchestra via the two end doors under the staircases. These led into corridors under the *cavea*'s ends; after entering the orchestra, performers used the two staircases in its corners to reach the stage.[93] The separate circulation of spectators and performers could have highlighted the former's higher status if the latter was an actor. An actor's skill was able to counteract this idea to some extent. If the performer was an elite orator or poet, this separation largely would have garnered him acclaim. Similarly, a speaker's appearance in the orchestra or on stage in a council meeting conveyed higher standing among Thessalonica's leading citizens.

The *odeum* thus stood to promote the idea that a hierarchy based on wealth and public office was inherent to urban life more to the non-elites who were excluded from its use than to those who gathered in it. Non-elite Thessalonians encountered this idea in the agora when they observed wealthy magistrates entering and leaving the *odeum*. In its size and costly marble decoration, the *odeum* also displayed Thessalonica's prosperity as a civic monument, like the rest of the agora. The marble jambs of the *scaena*'s entrances and veneer in the *proscaenium*'s niches, orchestra's pavement, and *scaenae frons* highlighted this for those who entered the building. The *odeum* thus had the capacity to reinforce a sense of community for all Thessalonians, even those who only experienced it from the outside.[94]

[93] Adam-Veleni 2010, 104, 107, 164; 2001, 25-6; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 2016b, 180-1; 1997, 18, 22; When the *odeum*'s seating was expanded in the 4th century AD, the *scaena*'s three middle entrances were blocked. Spectators now accessed the *diazoma* below the new *summa cavea* from the agora's inner portico via two large staircases.

[94] Christopher Dickenson emphasizes the agora's importance as a place for class dialogue in the Roman Empire's eastern provinces. He writes that there, "power relations between the elite and non-elite were shaped through interactions and through transformations of the built environment" (2017, 438-9).

A few structural features around the *odeum* manifest its capacity to shape its urban landscape by bolstering a social hierarchy and sense of civic pride. A mosaic flooring was installed in the two-aisled portico in front of the *odeum* and on the other sides of the agora in the first half of the 4th century AD.[95] In the colors of their *tesserae* and the skill that went into making their geometric designs, these mosaics represent a considerable expense. They thus underscore the high status of the local elites who frequented the *odeum* and the entire agora. The mosaics thus also helped the *odeum* and agora to further convey Thessalonica's success.

Thessalonica's mint and archive are in part other expressions of the *odeum*'s promotion of social hierarchy and civic community since their functions depended on the legislative and financial decisions made by the *boule*. The mint was in the agora's northeastern corner. Judging from space for shelves in its rear wall, the large room at the southern end of the agora's east side was the city's archive. Its proximity to the *odeum* allowed the easy storage and retrieval of written copies of the *boule*'s decrees.[96] In their locations and functions, then, the mint and archive reflect the privilege of those who used the *odeum* to govern interactions at Thessalonica.

A portrait statue found in the *odeum* also evidences its capacity to bolster its local urban network's participation in Roman imperial administration. Originally in the *scaenae frons*, the slightly over-life-size statue (2.11 m tall) is of the Small Herculaneum type. Its shows a local benefactress in line with contemporary trends in imperial portraiture with melon-style hair parted down the middle and with rolls of hair at the forehead (Fig. 82). The statue dates stylistically to the time of the Severans and so was placed in the *odeum* when its seating was expanded. The

[95] Kalavria and Boli 2001, 48, 327; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1997, 20; Vitti 1996, 63, 102, 187; Restored patches of these mosaics are currently only visible on the agora's east side. In their designs, the mosaics are similar to those in the Palace of Galerius. Earlier mosaic flooring is also likely.

[96] Adam-Veleni 2001, 28, 324; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1997, 16, 18

portrait thus exemplifies how the *odeum*'s sculpture linked the success of Thessalonica's cultural and political interactions to that of the Roman Empire's.[97]

Like Thessalonica's theater-stadium, the large seating capacity and large-scale performances of the hippodrome made it a prominent setting for the reinforcement both of a local hierarchy and of a unified civic identity. The hippodrome would have regularly attracted Thessalonica's elites, a large portion of the city's non-elites, and visitors of various means from across Macedonia and nearby provinces. The entertainment venue was capable of mediating political interactions to a greater extent than the theater-stadium because of its larger size and inclusion in the Galerian palace complex. For these reasons, for the time it hosted performances in the 4th century AD and briefly in the first half of the 5th, the hippodrome was the most politicized public entertainment venue in Macedonia and for miles into nearby provinces.

At a basic level, the hippodrome bolstered public support for a social hierarchy through the standard seating arrangement in which the well-to-do and holders of public office sat closer to the track than people of lesser means and humbler professions. Additionally, though, the wealthiest regional and local magistrates sat around the imperial box at the northwestern side of the track, where the emperor also sat if he was in the city. Domitius Catafronius is one local elite who regularly attended the hippodrome's performances. This is indicated by an inscription dating to the mid-4th century AD that notes how Catafronius, a *vir perfectissimus* and *procurator sacrae monetae*, funded new statues for the *euripus*.[98] This inscription and the statues it mentions

[97] *BCH* 1949, 294, Pl. XII-XIII; 1944/5, 430, Fig. 6; *MΘ* 1943; Despinis et al. 2003, 213-5, Figs. 963-70, Cat. #305; 1997, 125; Di Napoli 2018, 325; 2017, 411-2, Fig. 16.8, 423; Kruse 1975, 87, 221, 321, C42; Rüsch 1969, 83, 137; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 1990, 97ff., Figs. 15-17; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 2016b, 174; Vitti 1996, 101; Rüsch dates the statue more specifically to the times of Didia Clara and Julia Domna (c. first decade of the 3rd century AD). As Di Napoli suggests, others from this woman's prestigious family were possibly represented in the *scaenae frons*.

[98] *IG* X 2,1 41; Adam-Veleni 2016c, 187; 2010, 117; Di Napoli 2018, 326; Feissel and Spieser 1979, 309; Vickers 1972, 30-1; Vitti 1996, 218; The inscription's provenance is unknown.

were material expressions of the hippodrome promoting social hierarchy because their existence means that Catafronius saw his regular presence in the structure as a way to gain renown.

While performers on the track were separated from spectators by an orthostat podium wall during performances, the hippodrome also allocated a separate staging area for performers, particularly charioteers and their associated staff. This area was set behind the *carcares* at the hippodrome's northern end and was most likely accessed via an archway at the left side of the *Via Egnatia* as one entered the city's eastern gate (Fig. 65, #5). This area has not been excavated but is thought to have held rooms and stables set around a courtyard across from the starting gates. Performers' near exclusive use of this area was simultaneously able to help stress their generally low status, bolster a sense of sub-community among them, and increase spectators' esteem for them. Uranius Porphyris' sarcophagus manifests the latter two effects. It conveys the support of loved ones and of the general public for a particular performer and a sense of community among those involved with chariot racing at Thessalonica. It especially conveys the latter by noting Porphyris' renown among the city's branch of the Blues.

As for how the hippodrome fueled civic pride, this was made possible by how it brought together such large cross-sections of Thessalonica's population and united them through collective effervescence. The hippodrome also afforded people of different legal status and professions chances to intermingle on their approach to the entertainment venue and their seats. One approach to the hippodrome was from the north through a decorative vestibule at the southern side of the Arch of Galerius (Fig. 65, #6). A staircase in the middle of the vestibule's southern side led down into a long courtyard. From its end, which a street from the west also reached, spectators turned east to access the hippodrome's seating via substructure passageways and stairs. A street parallel to the hippodrome's western side and under the imperial box (Fig. 65,

#10) afforded spectators the choice to walk up to this entrance or down to another in the *sphendona*. This second entrance was preceded by a large courtyard inside Thessalonica's southeast gate. All this circulation space around the hippodrome provided spectators opportunities to feel interconnected, even if it was simply by crowding together.[99]

Since the hippodrome was part of the Galerian palace complex, a noteworthy aspect of its political function is how it encouraged spectators to both support and challenge imperial authority. The hippodrome afforded its city's inhabitants and visitors relatively close proximity to and extended periods of time with the emperor in which they addressed their concerns to him. The hippodrome's performances thus offered valuable opportunities for an emperor to strengthen his popular support in Thessalonica and across Macedonia. The downside of the hippodrome's "democratic" appeal was its capacity to magnify crowds' dissatisfaction, as the revolt in the hippodrome in 390 AD during Theodosius' reign exemplifies. Fueled by discontent over hardships caused by barbarian raids into Macedonia but triggered by a popular charioteer's imprisonment, this revolt led to many Thessalonians' execution (allegedly c. 7,000). The graves of these deceased have not been found, but they were notable, albeit sordid, material expressions of the hippodrome's capacity to shape its urban landscape by mediating political interactions.[100]

The Religious Function of Thessalonica's Entertainment Venues

While contributing to the expansion of cultural and political interactions at Thessalonica, the city's theater-stadium, *odeum*, and hippodrome also prompted people to consider their relationships with the gods. As yet, there are no finds that can plausibly be construed as evidence

[99] Adam-Veleni 2016c, 184; Dyggve 1941, 66, 68; Torp 2004.

[100] Ambrose *De ob. Theo.* 34; *Epist.* 51; Rufinus Aq. *Hist. Ecc.* 2.18; Sozomen *Hist. Ecc.* 7.25; Theodoret *Hist. Ecc.* 5.17; Adam-Veleni 2010, 118-9; Doležal 2014; Doležal analyzes the accounts of the massacre and convincingly argues that it was not on an explicit order from Theodosius. Instead, he contends that it followed from local soldiers panicking over the crowd's angry response to executions of individuals chosen as stand-ins for those who revolted.

for the hippodrome's mediation in this regard, but there is such evidence for the theater-stadium and *odeum*. For example, the aforementioned votive altar to Pythian victors, civic coins, and *invitationes* are all material actors that came from people's tangled thoughts on politics and the divine in the theater-stadium. Because they commemorate imperial Kabeiran *Pythia*, they specifically express the combined veneration of Apollo, the Kabeiri, and the emperor. These material actors thus conveyed the same ideas as the theater-stadium about these divine forces.

These ideas of course included the thought that these forces would guarantee Thessalonica's safety and prosperity if properly appeased, in this case through extravagant festivals with interregional appeal. Living emperors were able to guarantee this since, as the imperial cult stressed, they had the support of the traditional gods and divinized emperors and thus unmatched leadership and military capabilities. As for Apollo's worthiness of veneration, Thessalonica's *Pythia* would have highlighted such credentials as his patronage of the arts and his martial prowess. Lastly, the Kabeiri are an enigmatic group of deities. As scholars like Kevin Clinton and Kirsten Bedigan note with regard to evidence for worship of the Kabeiri on Samothrace and at Lemnos, for example, it seems that the deities were associated with Dionysos, symposia, and fertility. The point of venerating them, then, may have been to underscore that their goodwill brought prosperity to Thessalonica, Macedonia, and the Roman Empire.[101]

Spectators and performers encountered invocations of various deities in the *odeum* as well. For example, in the *scaenae frons* they regularly saw images of the Muses. This suggests that the goddesses were verbally invoked during dramatic performances or literary recitations. In both cases, the *odeum* would have invited people to contemplate how the Muses inspired and

[101] Bedigan 2013; Clinton 2017, 348-353; Vitti 1996 91-2; Supporting this interpretation of the Kabeiri's involvement in Thessalonica's Pythian games is how Kabeiros joins Tyche and a cornucopia on civic coins minted in the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus (see www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/macedonia/thessalonica).

were ultimately the source of human artistic talent. In the background of this contemplation would have been the larger idea that worship of the Muses helped to bring peace to Thessalonica, thus providing circumstances in artistic talent thrived. The *odeum* may have promoted similar ideas through invocations of Dionysos during performances. This is likely not only because of the god's connection to dramatic performances but also because a table leg in the form of Dionysos and a satyr leaning against a tree was found in the city archive. The presence of this decorative table in a room so closely related to the entertainment venue in location and function suggests that it commemorated the *odeum*'s promotion of Dionysos' cult.[102]

The Economic Function of Thessalonica's Entertainment Venues

On top of the funerary monuments, architectural decorations, and consumer goods discussed above in relation to Thessalonica's entertainment venues, the Dionysiac table from the city archive also suggests how these structures helped to expand economic interactions in their city. The imported examples of these material actors further indicate that Thessalonica's theater-stadium, *odeum*, and hippodrome promoted the expansion of these ties at an interregional level. Since people's experiences in these entertainment venues inspired economic activity, it is quite likely that shops were set up around them. Given the theater-stadium's large capacity, its performances' popularity, and its centuries of use, it was most likely surrounded by at least temporary commercial spaces. Future excavations in its surroundings are needed to confirm this likelihood. The hippodrome's excavations are similarly too few for a better understanding of its economic contributions. The stretch of the *Via Egnatia* inside Thessalonica's eastern gate and the large open area by the southeastern gate and old port, however, were prime commercial real-estate because of the crowds that frequented these areas during and between festivals.

[102] Adam-Veleni 2001, 28-9, 324; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1997, 18; The table leg was imported from Attica.

One way the *odeum* contributed to the expansion of economic interactions in its urban landscape is by hosting the council meetings that led to the civic mint's establishment. A mint existed since the late 1st century BC and so before the Roman agora and *bouleuterium*. However, its establishment in the agora's northeastern corner sometime between the late 1st and late 2nd century AD ensured that Thessalonica's coinage remained in circulation. The *odeum* thus played a role in keeping its city's coinage a useful medium for and thus a driver of commercial exchange at Thessalonica and at sites across Macedonia and in nearby provinces.[103]

Council meetings and performances in the *odeum* also provided contexts for spectators to be inspired to buy or commission goods that commemorated these experiences. The entertainment venue thereby most likely regularly supplied customers to the shops at the agora's southern side. Based on 4th century AD finds from the 13 lower-story shops, the goods sold there in this century and likely the two preceding ones included kitchenware, serving vessels, tablewares (e.g. Macedonian Grey Ware, African Red Slip, and Late Roman Type C), and lamps. Some shops became workshops in the 4th century AD, and finds of a curved knife and cisterns in three of them suggest that tanning and dying were activities patronized here. The cryptoportici were able to store the goods that were sold in the shops in front of and above them.[104]

In summary, a considerable number of consumer goods, funerary monuments, architectural decorations, and public buildings attest to how Thessalonica's theater-stadium, *odeum*, and hippodrome shaped (or likely shaped) their urban landscape as foci for cultural,

[103] See Tasaklaki 2018, for example, for a count of coins from Thessalonica found at sites in Aegean Thrace. Kremydi-Sicilianou (2004) mentions coins from Thessalonica in the coin hoards found behind Dion's theater.

[104] Boli and Skiadaressis 2001, 87, 90-2, 328; Valavanidou 2001, 129, 330; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1997, 8, 10, 16; Only five of the shops at the agora's southern exterior side have been completely excavated, and all of the shops mostly attest to activity in the 4th – 5th century AD. The threshold for double doors into the cryptoportici was found in place between entrances to shops at the eastern end of the street at the agora's southern side. These doors were most likely paralleled at the unexcavated western side of the street.

political, religious, and economic interactions in the 2nd through 4th century AD. Like their counterparts across Macedonia, the entertainment venues at the province's capital no longer hosted performances at the end of the 4th century AD. Evidence of activity in or around these buildings or the reuse of their materials in the 5th and 6th centuries AD suggest they still shaped interpersonal relations as ruins. This reuse includes the quarrying of the theater-stadium's seats to rebuild the western city wall[105] and the installation of cisterns and clay pits in the *odeum.*[106] In meeting the needs of Late Antique urban life at Thessalonica, these reuses accorded in spirit with how the city's entertainment venues had earlier promoted various aspects of urban life.

Conclusion

One purpose of Chapters Four and Five has been to introduce a few of Macedonia's best-studied public entertainment venues. Chapter Four introduced the long history of structural modifications that Philippi's theater underwent to host dramatic performances, gladiatorial games, and animal hunts between the late 1st and early 4th century AD as well as the theater at Heraclea Lyncestis, which was purpose-built to host these entertainments at the beginning of the 2nd century AD. This chapter has traced the similar yet simultaneously quite different architectural development of Stobi's theater and has introduced the structurally enigmatic theater-stadium, oft-modified *odeum*, and expansive hippodrome at Thessalonica.

These structures' architecture and modifications over time demonstrate that they were products of varied interactions that concentrated at some of Macedonia's most complex urban

[105] Rizos 2011, 451-2, 455, 468, Fig. 5; Sodini 2007, 313; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 2016b, 166-8; 1992, 249; Vickers 1971, 344; Vitti 1996, 63, 103, 124-8; That the theater-stadium still hosted performances in the early 4th century AD is attested by reference to it in *The Miracles of St. Demetrius*; St. Demetrius was martyred at the beginning of the 4th century AD. The dating of the many renovations of Thessalonica's fortifications in the 4th – 6th centuries AD is debated. For more information on the subject see Rizos, Sodini, and Vitti,

[106] Adam-Veleni 2001, 30, 324; Kalavria and Boli 2001, 48, 58, 61, 63, 327; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1997, 22, 28; Vitti 1996, 103-4.

networks, particularly in the two centuries before the late 1st – early 2nd century AD urbanization horizon (see Chapter Two). This framing is also intended to demonstrate that entertainment venues were monuments that were deemed necessary repeated investments for large urban centers. Their popularity and particular monumentality make them potent indicators of their cities' development into and further transformation as complex local networks. Entertainment venues also reflect that this local complexity translated into regional prominence. This regional prominence, and entertainment venues' contributions to it, in turn meant that cities like Philippi, Heraclea, Stobi, and Thessalonica led Macedonia's participation in a Roman imperial network.

The second purpose of Chapters Four and Five has been to explore how this study's main public entertainment venues at Philippi, Heraclea Lyncestis, Stobi, and Thessalonica shaped the ideas and material forms (artifacts, monuments, buildings, and spaces) that characterized urban life in Macedonia. As this chapter has argued with regard the theater, theater-stadium, *odeum*, stadium, and hippodrome at Stobi and Thessalonica, Macedonia's entertainment venues informed urbanism in a number of ways by regularly hosting cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions among large cross-sections of their city's populations. The various interactions that the entertainment venues at Stobi and Thessalonica hosted and the periodic modifications these buildings underwent reflect the variety and fluidity of life in their cities. Each structural change effectively created a new entertainment venue that hosted new human interactions or the same ones in different ways. Thus, the Macedonian entertainment venues in Chapters Four and Five, and those in Thrace covered in Chapters Six and Seven, should be seen as microcosms of their urban landscapes.

CHAPTER SIX: THE THEATER, STADIUM, *ODEUM*, AND AMPHITHEATER AT PHILIPPOPOLIS AND DIOCLETIANOPOLIS AS URBAN NETWORK ACTORS IN ROMAN THRACE (LATE 1ST – 4TH CENTURY AD)

Introduction

This chapter and the next address how this study's public entertainment venues in Thrace mediated cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions in their cities in the late 1st – early 4th century AD. Like Chapters Four and Five, Chapters Six and Seven's discussions belong together but are split for greater readability. Chapter Six analyzes the multifunctional mediation of the theater, *odeum*, stadium, and amphitheater at Philippopolis and the amphitheater at Diocletianopolis. This analysis pays close attention to the structural features and sculptural decoration that allowed these entertainment venues to host the variety of interactions they did. This chapter also examines examples of the material actors (consumer goods, civic and funerary monuments, buildings, and built spaces) these structures helped to contribute to their cities through their regular participation in these interactions.

As in Macedonia, theaters were the main public entertainment venue in Roman Thrace. Largely intact theaters have been excavated at Philippopolis and Maroneia, and parts of theaters have been found at Serdica, Abdera, Perinthus, Bizye, Byzantium, Mesambria Pontica, and Odessus. It is fairly certain that Augusta Traiana, Apollonia Pontica, Agathopolis, and Dionysopolis had theaters. Artifacts and monuments that reference public entertainments were found at Augusta Traiana (Chapter Seven) and Dionysopolis. This site, Apollonia Pontica, and Agathopolis began as Greek colonies, for which theaters were standard (Fig. 4).[1] Also like

[1] Ivanov et al. 2006, 80-1; Mango 1985, 19; Minchev 2019, 178, 188-9; Popova 2017, 72; Sear 2006, 421-4.

Macedonia, the *odeum* was the second most common entertainment venue in Thrace. Examples have been excavated at Philippopolis, Serdica, and Nicopolis ad Istrum. Besides Constantinople, no other city in Thrace had a hippodrome. Philippopolis and Perinthus each had a stadium.

Unlike Macedonia, amphitheaters were built across Thrace in the late 3rd – early 4th century AD at Diocletianopolis, Marcianopolis, Serdica, and Augusta Traiana. Whatever factors determined why amphitheaters were not built in Macedonia seem to have not applied to Thrace, at least after the late 3rd century AD. Perhaps amphitheaters were built in Thrace at this time in part because gladiatorial games were popular among soldiers who were stationed in Moesia and then settled in Thrace after they were discharged from service.[2]

The late 1st – early 2nd century AD urbanization horizon that introduced new theaters to Philippi, Heraclea Lyncestis, Stobi, and Thessalonica also brought a theater and stadium to Philippopolis. In the late 2nd – early 3rd century, the *bouleuterium* at the northern side of Philippopolis' agora seems to have been expanded into an *odeum* when *odea* were added to the agoras at Thessalonica and Dion. An *odeum* was built onto Nicopolis ad Istrum's agora at this time as well. Each *odeum* was thus part of a larger revitalization project.[3] For example, Philippopolis' theater was updated in the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD.

As for Diocletianopolis, it like this study's other main sites in Thrace – Serdica and Augusta Traiana – gained an amphitheater in the late 3rd century AD. Another amphitheater was built at Marcianopolis at the same time. With seating on only one side of its arena, the amphitheater at Diocletianopolis was structurally similar to those at Serdica, and Augusta Traiana. The entertainment venue was part of a building campaign that marked how the site,

[2] Vagalinski 2009, 72; Vagalinski suggests this when he addresses the dating of Marcianopolis' amphitheater.

[3] Karadedos et al. 2014, 24-5.

newly renamed Diocletianopolis, had become a significant urban center in the diocese of Thrace and the third largest city in the province of Thrace by the beginning of Late Antiquity.

As in Chapters Four and Five, in this chapter overviews of the architectural development of Philippopolis and Diocletianopolis' entertainment venues between the late 1st and the early 4th century AD precede analysis of how these structures shaped the people, objects, monuments, and ideas that characterized their local urban networks. Other large-scale building projects that featured in the same urbanization horizons as these structures are presented as context for or as products of entertainment venues' participation in their local urban networks. As comparisons to the *odeum* at Philippopolis and the amphitheater at Diocletianopolis, this chapter briefly discusses Nicopolis ad Istrum's *odeum* and Marcianopolis' amphitheater, both of which sites were in Thrace until they were reassigned to Moesia Inferior in Septemius Severus' reign.

Table 6: Build Phases for the Entertainment Venues from Thrace Mentioned in the Text

Site	Century (BC – AD)							
	4th	3rd	2nd	1st BC	1st AD	2nd	3rd	4th
Augusta Traiana						T – B	T – X, Am – B	Am – X
Constantinopolis						T – B?		H – B, T – M →
Diocletianopolis							Am – B	Am – X
Perinthus						T, S – B?		A – X
Marcianopolis							Am – B	Am – X
Maroneia	T – B					T – M		T – X
Nicopolis ad Istrum						O – B		O – X
Philippopolis					T – B, O – B	S – B, T – M1, O – M		T – M2, A – X
Serdica						O – B, T – B	T – X, Am – B, O – M1	Am – M, O – M2, A – X

Key: Venue types: Amphitheater (Am), Hippodrome (H), Odeum (O), Stadium (S), Theater (T), All (A)
Construction type: Built (B), Modified (M), Abandoned (X)
Qualifiers: Number in succession (1, 2, 3), Continued use (→), Unclear (?)

The Theater, Stadium, and *Odeum* at Philippopolis

The Form and Dating of Philippopolis' Entertainment Venues

The theater at Philippopolis is a close parallel to those at Philippi and particularly Stobi in form and construction date. Based on statues bases found in the theater, its construction has been re-dated recently to Domitian's principate in the late 1st century AD. An inscription on three architrave blocks from the *scaenae frons*' eastern half previously led scholars to date the theater's construction c. 116 – 7 AD. Like the statue bases from the theater that are mentioned in Chapter Two, this inscription also calls Philippopolis a metropolis. The city council, people, and first archon Tarsas, son of Bessos, dedicate the inscription to Trajan, Plotina, and the Roman Senate and people. Tarsas funded "the tower" (*τὸν πύργον*), which used to be conflated to mean the whole theater. However, Maya Martinova-Kyutova and Nicolay Sharankov plausibly interpret "the tower" as the eastern *parascaenium*.[4] Two architrave fragments from the *scaenae frons*' western half are thought to have born the same inscription.[5]

Study of the statue bases dedicated to Ti. Claudius Sacerdos Iulianus and T. Flavius Kotys (see Chapter Three) reassigned the theater's construction to Domitian's principate. Iulianus, whose name suggests he came from Italy, is identified on his statue base as a benefactor and the equestrian governor of Thrace (*ἐπίτροπον Σεβαστοῦ*). Iulianus became a suffect consul in

[4] *AE* 2005, 1375; *SEG* 55:763; Djambov 1980, 4; Ivanov et al. 2006, 81, 86, 89; Kesiakova 1999, 64-5; Martinova-Kyutova and Sharankov 2018, 67, 71-2, Fig. 3; Minchev 2019, 211; Sharankov 2014, 276; 2005b, 237-40; Topalilov 2012, 32; Vagalinski 2009, 76; Philippopolis' theater was excavated 1968-78, 1982-4, and 2008-9 and restored 1979-81. *Ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοκρά[τορος Νέρουα Τρ]αιανοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ [Γερμ]ανικοῦ Δα[κικοῦ Παρθικοῦ]| [Ἀ]ρίστου ὑγείας καὶ δ[ιαμονῆς καὶ Πλωτείνη]ς Σεβαστῆς καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος α[ὐτων οἴκου ἱερᾶς τε συγκλήτου] κα̣ὶ| [δήμου Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς τε καὶ δήμου Φιλιππο̣πολειτῶν, ἡ]γεμονεύοντος ἐπαρχείας Θρᾴκης Γν[αίου Μινικίου Φαυστείνου (?) πρεσβευτοῦ| Σεβαστοῦ ἀντιστρατήγου, ὁ πρῶτος ἄρχων (vel ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς) τ]ῆ̣ς Θρᾳκῶν μητροπόλεος (*sic*) Ταρσας Βασσου κα̣ὶ [ἡ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος ἡ γυνὴ (?) α]ὐτοῦ| κατεσκέυασαν τὸν πύργον δηναρίων [-].*

[5] *AE* 2005, 1376; Martinova-Kyutova and Sharankov 2018, 72; Sharankov 2014, 276; 2005b, 240-1; Most of this inscription is reconstructed: *[Ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ etc. ὑγείας καὶ] διαμονῆς| [καὶ Πλωτείνης Σεβαστῆς καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος αὐτων οἴκου etc., ἡγεμ]ονεύοντος| [ἐπαρχείας Θρᾴκης τοῦ δεῖνος etc. - - -].* The meanings of these inscriptions for the theater's mediation of its city's political affairs are discussed below.

100 AD, as is known from an inscribed *aedicula* found at Rome. Iulianus' rise to consular status in 100 AD means that he was the equestrian governor of Thrace not long before this, most likely in the 90s AD and so under Domitian.[6] T. Flavius Kotys was a representative for Philippopolis, three-time high priest of Thrace, superintendent of building affairs, priest of Asklepios, and generally a renowned man. Since his name is Kotys and he is called the son of Rhaskuporis, he was certainly a native-born Thracian elite. It has even been suggested based on his name that he was a descendent of the Thracian client kings. Kotys' *tria nomina* and the inscription's mention of Thrace as a metropolis support a date for his statue in the 90s AD. Thus, both statue bases support that Philippopolis' theater was built in the last two decades of the 1st century AD.[7] The reference to "the tower" in the architrave inscription dedicated to Trajan indicates that parts of the theater, like the *scaenae frons*, were updated in the early 2nd century AD.

Set between Dzhambaz and Taksim Tepe at the northern end of Philippopolis, the theater was oriented so that it looked out over the city and could be seen from across it (Fig. 19, #2). Like the theaters at Philippi, Maroneia, Dion, and Stobi, Philippopolis' was a blend of Greek and Italian theater architecture and so in its form was indicative both of Thrace's participation in a Roman imperial network and of the region's historical links to Greek communities across the Aegean. Its slightly over semicircular *cavea* was largely built into the hillside but was further supported by a limestone-block substructure. Like that of Stobi's theater, the *cavea* was divided

[6] Lozanov 2015, 82; Martinova-Kyutova and Sharankov 2018, 69; Sharankov 2014, 277; 2005b, 235-7; Vagalinski 2009, 76; *Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δ-/ ῆμος ὁ Φιλιππο-/ πολειτῶν ἐτείμη-/ σεν τὸν εὐεργέτην τῆς μητροπόλεως/ Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον/ Σακέρδωτα Ἰου-/ λιανὸν ἐπίτροπον/ Σεβαστοῦ.* See *CIL* VI 451 for mention of Iulianus as a suffect consul with L. Roscius Aelianus Maecius Celer in 100 AD. This inscription was dedicated to the *Lares Augustii* and *Genii Caesarum* when Trajan held *tribunica potestas* for the fourth time and was consul for the third time.

[7] Dikov 2016; Martinova-Kyutova 2017, 329; Martinova-Kyutova and Sharankov 2018, 69-71, Fig. 2.2; Sharankov 2014, 277; 2005a, 55-8; *Τὸν [ἀ]πὸ προγόνων πρῶτον/ τῆς ἐπα[ρχεί]ας καὶ ἑνάρε/ τον ἄνδρα, [ἀ]ρχιερέα τε τρὶς τῆς/ Θρακῶν ἐπαρχείας καὶ τῶν ἐ-/ ν αὐτῇ πόλεων καὶ ἔγδικον τῆς/ μητροπόλεως κ[αὶ ἐργεπιστάτην/ διά τε τοῦ πρῶτον [ἄρ]ξαι τόπον με/ γάλοις ἔργοις τὴν πόλ[ιν κε]κοσμηκότα,/ δημοφίλητον καὶ δι[ὰ βί]ου ἱερ[έ]α Ἀσ-/ κληπιοῦ Τ(ίτον) Φλάουιον [Ρησκου?-]/ πορεως υἱὸν Κυρείνα Κοτ[υν], etc.*

into lower and upper tiers, in this case by a wide *diazoma* and a podium wall at the base of the *summa cavea* (Fig. 83). A vaulted stairway with a shallow decline, over which was a *pulvinar* as in Stobi's theater, accessed the *diazoma* from under the center of the *summa cavea*. The theater is estimated to have held c. 3,500 people like Heraclea's and so in its seating capacity indicates Philippopolis at least had several thousand inhabitants when it was built.[8]

Similar to Stobi's theater, the theater at Philippopolis had a narrow rectangular scene building with protruding *parascaenia*, but in this case they were not vestigial. The *scaena* was shorter than that of Stobi's theater, but it was still wider than the orchestra. According to Greek architectural tradition, there was a tall narrow stage between the *parascaenia*. It was accessed through three doorways with marble jambs at the center of the *scaena* and two others in the sides of the *parascaenia*. Similar to the *proscaenium* of Thasos' theater, that of Philippopolis' had spaces for *πινακές* that were framed with Ionic engaged columns and a frieze course (Fig. 84). The *proscaenium* had three marble-jambed doorways that led into the orchestra and were roughly aligned with those at stage level. The theater's *scaenae frons* was three stories tall. It was Ionic in order with Composite columns in the center of the upper story.[9]

At the edge of the orchestra was an orthostat podium wall (1.75 m tall). Its top surface was a walkway as in Stobi and Heraclea's theaters. Here were sockets for beams for a netting system (Fig. 84). Of the *ima cavea*'s seven staircases, the central and end ones accessed the orchestra. Vertical slots at the ends of these staircases allowed the lowering of doors or metal grills to bar animals from the *cavea*. Vagalinski does not believe that Philippopolis' theater

[8] Botusharova 1980, 11; Djambov 1980, 4; Ivanov et al. 2006 81, 86-7, 89; Kesiakova 1999, 19-20, 61; Kolarova 1980, 13; Martinova-Kyutova 2010, 390-1; Martinova-Kyutova and Sharankov 2018, 67-9, Fig. 1; Minchev 2019, 211; Topalilov 2012, 30, 32, 34.

[9] Botusharova 1980, 12-3; Ivanov et al. 2006, 81, 87-8; Kesiakova 1999, 64; Martinova-Kyutova and Sharankov 2018, 67-9, Fig. 1; Topalilov 2012, 31.

hosted gladiatorial games or animal hunts from the beginning. He instead asserts that the *cavea* originally reached the orchestra and that later its bottom rows were removed. He asserts that this explains why some of the *cavea*'s staircases reached the orchestra, as in the theaters at Philippi, Thasos, and Maroneia that were modified to host gladiatorial battles and animal hunts.[10]

Philippopolis' theater more likely had a podium wall (if not also a netting system) from its construction since no traces of missing lower rows have been found. The staircases that run through the wall also do not appear to have been reworked. Dion's theater and the first phase of Stobi's provide parallels in Macedonia for theaters built with podium walls that allowed the *cavea*'s stairways to access the orchestra. A change that was made after the theater was built was the vaulting of its *parodoi*. This better allowed the *parodoi* to be closed and so to better turn the orchestra into an arena. These vaulted entrances were built into the *analemmata* and so entailed their renovation. This vaulting was clearly added after the installation of the *parascaenia* since it abuts them and hides column bases in their lower story (Fig. 84). It is quite likely that this change occurred in Hadrian's principate when Philippopolis' stadium was built. The three-banded Ionic molding over the interior arch of the western *parodos* is the same as that over the *sphendona* entrance on the stadium's interior (Figs. 84, 87).[11]

The construction of Philippopolis' theater in the late 1st century AD coincided with a reconstruction of Philippopolis' agora and the addition of public buildings including a *bouleuterium* at its northeastern corner (Fig. 85). The agora was updated in part because it suffered fire damage; a burn layer was found across the stores at its northeastern corner. The second agora's plan deviated from that of the first to accent and better enable Philippopolis'

[10] Botusharova 1980, 12; Ivanov et al. 2006, 81, 87, 89; Kolarova 1980, 14; Martinova-Kyutova and Sharankov 2018, 68; Vagalinski 2009, 77-8.

[11] Ivanov et al. 2006, 88; Kolarova 1980, 14; Martinova-Kyutova and Sharankov 2018, 68; Minchev 2019, 212.

growth as a cultural, political, religious, and economic center. The colonnades around the central courtyard were widened (11.30 m wide) to produce more covered space. The surface level of the agora was also raised, and an open marble drain channel was installed at the base of the new Doric colonnades. Ionic tetrastyle propylons were placed at the middle of the east, west, and south sides of the agora, which were still backed by lines of stores.[12]

The building east of center on the agora's north side was a library/archive (Fig. 19, #4). This identification is based on the alcoves behind the short platform along the building's eastern interior wall (Fig. 85). Along this wall's exterior was the approach to the *bouleuterium* from the agora (Fig. 19, #6). The *bouleuterium*'s excavations are unpublished, so little can be said about it beyond what can be observed from the restored building and plans of the agora. A low podium wall separated the narrow stage from the orchestra, and un-vaulted *parodoi* separated the *cavea* from the stage (Fig. 86). At the back of the stage was a close-set line of Corinthian columns. Eight vaults supported the small semicircular *cavea*, which did not have a podium wall.[13]

A few other building projects coincided with the updates to Philippopolis' theater in the early 2nd century AD. These include the beginning of a repaving of the city's streets, the installation of a sewer system, and the construction of a tripylon arch dedicated to Hadrian at the city's northeastern corner (Fig. 19, #1).[14] Philippopolis' stadium was also built in the early 2nd century AD, most likely in Hadrian's principate. As Topalilov notes, three considerations support this now widely accepted date for the stadium's construction. The first is that the stadium features on coins minted at Philippopolis in the time of Antoninus Pius. The second

[12] Djambov 1980, 5; Ivanov et al. 2004, 291-3, 296-7; Kesiakova 1999, 13-5; Martinova-Kyutova 2013, 318; Topalilov 2012, 23, 26.

[13] Martinova-Kyutova 2013, 318-9; Minchev 2019, 210; Topalilov 2012, 23, 26; 2011, 25.

[14] Kesiakova 1999, 23; Topalilov 2012, 14; 2011, 25-6.

consideration is that an aqueduct finished in Antoninus Pius' principate and the city's fortification wall, which was built in 172 AD, adjusted for the stadium's *sphendona* in their trajectories (Fig. 19, #9). Lastly, the upper portion of a marble stele was found near the *sphendona*. Inscribed with *Ἀντίνοον · ἥρωα*, it depicts Antinous as a heroically nude *ephebe* with a *chlamys* and scepter in his left arm and a staff in his right hand (Fig. 87). Nearly all the portraits of Antinous that have been found in cities in the province of Asia and all the coins these cities minted in his honor date between 130 and 138 AD. The stele from Philippopolis thus most likely indicates that the cult of Antinous was invoked in games presented in the stadium later in this span of time, which in turn supports the stadium construction by the early 130s AD.[15]

The stadium was west of the theater between Taksim Tepe to the east and Sahat Tepe to the west (Fig. 19, #3). Its *sphendona*, a section of seating on each side, a short stretch of track along the eastern seating section, and the eastern half of its main entrance have been excavated (Fig. 88). These excavations revealed that the stadium had a track around 240 m long and 25 – 35 m wide. The track's surface was polished rock in some areas and mortar and stamped clay in others. Six large piers originally divided the entrance into five archways. The piers were decorated with marble reliefs showing deities with their attributes; the two excavated piers, for example, displayed Hermes and Hercules. The stadium's 14 rows of marble seating were set on the natural rock on the building's west side, but on the east side they were supported on vaults built against a buttressed wall at the base of Taksim Tepe. A 1.80 m tall podium wall separated the seating from the track, but as the *sphendona* suggests, all the seating's stairways accessed the

[15] *AE* 2002, 1268; *SEG* 52:707; Delemen 2010, 186; Ivanov et al. 2006, 85-6; Kesiakova 1999, 47; Martinova-Kyutova 2011, 343; Sharankov 2003, 165-7; Topalilov 2012, 43; 2011, 26, 32, Fig. 7; Vagalinski 2009, 13, 200, Cat. #101; See *ILS* 7212 for the inscription from Lanuvium (136 AD) that records the inauguration of Antinous' cult. Topalilov (2011) argues that the games occurred c. 132-3 and c. 136 AD.

track; no provision was made for blocking them (Fig. 89). The vaulted tunnel at the center of the *sphendona* led behind the stadium to the northeast.[16]

Overall, Philippopolis's stadium is estimated to have been c. 300 m long and 70 – 80 m wide and to have accommodated 20,000 – 30,000 spectators. It is comparable to the *stadia* at Delphi and Perinthus. Despite the latter stadium's meager remains, its overall dimensions are estimated to have been 240 x 69 m. Like the theater, *bouleuterium*, and other building projects that marked the late 1st – early 2nd century AD urbanization horizon at Philippopolis, the stadium shows the city's healthy engagement in contemporary architectural trends in neighboring provinces. Moreover, as perhaps its city's largest, most expensive public building, the stadium highlights Philippopolis's prominence in Thrace's regional urban network.[17]

Philippopolis' regional prominence continued into the late 2nd century AD, when Philippopolis' agora and *bouleuterium/odeum* were renovated (also when the *odea* at Thessalonica, Dion, and Thasos were built). The addition of a treasury to the agora in 183-4 AD coincided with an architectural reframing of the *odeum* through the installation of a Corinthian-colonnaded courtyard behind its *scaena* (Fig. 85). As with the Great Baths at Dion, the courtyard joined the library/archive, treasury, and *odeum* into a complex.[18]

Nicopolis ad Istrum's *odeum* shares formal characteristics with Philippopolis' *odeum* and this study's other *odea*. Like Thasos' *odeum*, its *cavea* had a short podium wall (c. 1 m). The

[16] Ivanov et al. 2006, 82, 85; Kesiakova 1999, 16, 44-5; Martinova 2007, 336-7; 2006, 235-6; Martinova-Kyutova 2011, 342; Topalilov 2012, 42-3; Vagalinski 2009, 10, 12.

[17] Dodge 2009, 30; Ivanov et al. 2006, 82, 85; Topalilov 2012, 3; Vagalinski 2009, 12.

[18] *AE* 1985, 0768; 1979, 0547; 1950, 0102; HD 7199; Ivanov 2006, 22; Kesiakova 1999, 15, 38; Topalilov 2012, 23, 27; The treasury's date was established by two architrave blocks on which the building is identified and Commodus' name are inscribed. This inscription is partially restored: *[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arcus) Aurelius Commodus Anto]ninus Aug(ustus) Pius S[arm(aticus) Germ(anicus) max(imus) p(ontifex) m(aximus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) VIII imp(erator) VI co(n)s(ul) IIII p(ater) p(atriae)] aedem thensauroru[m! civitati Philippopolitanorum ---]*.

scaena of Nicopolis' had a low narrow stage like Thessalonica and Philippopolis' *odea* (Fig. 90). Behind this stage were four rectangular niches that flanked the doorways into the *scaena*. Pairs of rooms on either side of the *scaena* communicated with its interior and the stage. The eastern pair had entrances into the agora and the western one into a colonnaded courtyard, an addendum that Nicopolis' *odeum* shared with Philippopolis and Dion'. The courtyard and agora also accessed the *parodoi*. The *odeum* held 350 – 400 viewers and so was roughly the size of those at Dion, Philippopolis, and Thessalonica (by the early 3rd century AD). Instead of hallways around the *cavea*, as in Philippopolis' *odeum*, there were 11 small rooms that are interpreted as stores.[19]

Like the *odea* at Thessalonica, Dion, Thasos, and Philippopolis, Nicopolis' was built onto the agora to bolster people's participation in the various aspects of urban life that intersected this space. An architrave dedicated to Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius suggests the agora was expanded between 145 and 161 AD. By the third quarter of the 2nd century AD, then, the agora looked similar to that at Philippopolis. The *odeum* was on the agora's western side south of a hallway inside a propylon (Fig. 91). North of the hallway was a large, elaborately decorated with niches in its rear wall. The room was first identified as a *bouleuterium*, but Krasimera Vacheva convincingly argues that it was a library. Thus, Nicopolis' *odeum*, propylon, and library were a complex that looked similar to that of the *odeum*, courtyard, and library at Philippopolis' agora.[20]

[19] Ivanov et al. 2006, 81; 2004, 287-8; Minchev 2019, 204, 211; The three rooms on the western side of the *cavea* were accessed from the courtyard here, the three on the east from the agora, and the five on the north from the street, propylon, and hallway.

[20] Ivanov et al. 2006, 81; 2004, 285-8; Minchev 2019, 204; Vacheva 1992, 32-8; The library measures 21 x 17.70 m. Its interior decoration included marble Composite pilaster capitals that once flanked its central entrance and 14 statue base fragments, which attest to decorative niches. These niches and the room's tile floor were at the same level as the doorway leading into the agora, and there was no evidence for raised seating. Thus, Vacheva argues that this room was a library and not a bouleuterion. For the architrave inscription dedicated to Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius as Caesar, and Faustina the Younger see *IGBulg* II, 604.

Philippopolis' theater was likely updated not long after the elaboration of the city's agora and *odeum* in the late 2nd century AD. An elevator for introducing gladiators, animal hunters, and wild animals into the theater was installed in the orchestra. Similar to the elevator in Philippi's theater, that in Philippopolis' was a shaft at the center of the orchestra that was preceded by a tunnel that led from the back of and under the *scaena*.[21] This update has not been dated, but it makes the most sense to assign it to the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD when Philippi's theater – not to mention those at Tralles, Magnesia ad Meander, and Sardis – was similarly updated.

Philippopolis' theater was last updated in the early 4th century AD. These updates roughly coincided with other construction projects between the final quarter of the 3rd and early 4th century AD. One such project was the repair of Philippopolis' walls in Gallienus' reign (260 – 8 AD). The walls seem to have been completely rebuilt in Constantine and Licinius' joint reign. Philippopolis' streets were also repaved between 270 and 282 AD. With the funding of the local elite Cn. Munnacius, repair of the agora began around the same time but was not completed until Constantine's reign. The agora's courtyard was raised and paved with marble, and another line of rooms was added behind the colonnade on the agora's eastern side. It also appears that the eastern side of the stadium's seating was repaired late in the third quarter of the 3rd century AD.[22]

An inscription from the theater's *scaenae frons* indicates the building's renovation in the early 4th century AD. On three corner blocks from an architrave, the inscription appears from its letter forms to date to the late 3rd – 4th century AD. According to Sharankov, it records that the theater was renovated in Galerius' reign when Teres was Thrace's governor and Saturninus was

[21] Ivanov et al. 2006, 84, 89; Martinova-Kyutova and Sharankov 2018, 68; Topalilov 2014a, 9; 2012, 31-2; Vagalinski 2009, 76-7; The base of the elevator shaft measured 4.90 x 3.50 m.

[22] De Sena 2014, 9; Ivanov et al. 2006, 85; Kesiakova 1999, 15, 23-4; Martinova 2007, 337; 2006, 236; Topalilov 2012, 13-4, 27, 44, 46; The stadium's repair is indicated by pink instead of the original white mortar.

Philippopolis' administrator. This places the theater's renovation between 305 and 311 AD.[23] The inscription's location likely means that the *scaenae frons*' decoration was updated. A staircase at the interior side of the eastern *parodos* also dates to the early 4th century AD and so probably belongs to this construction work as well (Fig. 84). The same can be said for a wall built behind the *scaena* to block access to the theater from the southeast, where there had been a stairway. Lastly, radial walls along the vaulted corridor at the top of the theater attest to the construction of a third tier of seating in the early 4th century AD (Fig. 83).[24]

The construction projects at Philippopolis in the late 3rd – early 4th century AD restored the functionality of the city' public spaces after decades of heavy use. Ammianus Marcellinus also reports, however, that Philippopolis was destroyed and many of its people slaughtered when it was captured by Goths in 251 AD.[25] Ammianus and other Late Antique historians who discuss Philippopolis' capture in the mid-3rd century AD Gothic invasion of Macedonia and Thrace most likely exaggerate the scale of this invasion's casualties and damage. At the same time, that so many features of Philippopolis' urban landscape were rebuilt in the late 3rd – early 4th century AD does support the idea that the city was adversely affected by the event.

Most of these structural changes were also renovations that increased the affordances of particular built features. For example, the rebuilt city wall could better protect Philippopolis, the agora could hold more shops than before, and the theater could accommodate significantly more

[23] Sharankov 2014, 277-84; *Ἐπ[ὶ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Γαλερ(ίου) Οὐαλερ(ίου) Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ) τὸ θέατ]ρον ἀνεν[εώθη], ἡγεμονεύοντος [τῆ]ς Θρ[άκης] vel Θρ[άκῶν ἐπαρχείας -] Τηρου τοῦ διασημοτάτου, λογιστεύον(τος) Σατορνείνου.*

[24] Martinova-Kyutova 2017, 328-9; Martinova-Kyutova and Sharankov 2018, 68; Sharankov 2014, 284; Topalilov 2012, 36; Vagalinski 2009, 76; This staircase was made out of reused marble blocks from the theater, which included the statue bases dedicated to Julianus and T. Flavius Kotys.

[25] Amm. Marc. 31.5.15; Dexipp. Fr. 19-20, FGrH 26; Iord. *Get.* 18.101-3; Zos. 1.13; Ivanov et al. 2006, 85; Topalilov 2012, 10; Ammianus on Philippopolis: *Post clades acceptas inlatasque multas et saevas excise est Phiippopolis, centum hominum milibus, nisi fingunt annals, intra moenia iugulatis.* Goths purportedly captured Anchialos and Nicopolis ad Istrum and besieged cities in Macedonia like Thessalonica around the same time.

spectators. Thus, the building projects that the urbanization horizon of the late 3rd – early 4th century AD brought to Philippopolis were able to further support the city as a preeminent interactive hub in central Thrace. Indeed, Diocletian recognized the city as such when he designated it the capital of the new, smaller province of Thrace.[26]

Built and renovated to demonstrate Philippopolis' metropolitan status, the city's theater, stadium, and *odeum* were well-equipped to guide the cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions that made this regional preeminence possible. Numerous artifacts, honorific and funerary monuments, and public spaces discovered around Philippopolis manifest the effects that each building's mediation had on urban life between the 2nd and late 4th century AD. Most of this evidence pertains to the theater and stadium, but a few discoveries point to the *odeum*'s capacity to promote the expansion of connections among its city's inhabitants, particularly elites.

The Cultural Function of Philippopolis' Entertainment Venues

As was noted above, Philippopolis' theater most likely hosted dramatic performances, gladiatorial battles, and animal hunts from the late 1st century AD (Fig. 19, #2). The theater hosted these performances much like the theaters at Philippi, Thasos, and Maroneia. The *proscaenium* of Philippopolis' theater offered additional decorative framing for individuals or small groups who performed on-stage (Fig. 84). Such performers were likely most commonly actors in traditional tragedies and comedies and musicians who accompanied choruses or dances in the orchestra. The columnar porches of the two-storied *parascaenia* further framed performers on-stage below the two-story, vestigial columnar porches at the *scaenae frons*' center. Doorways that led from the *scaena* into the lower story of each *parascaenium* indicate that performances

[26] Topalilov 2012, 11; As is recorded in the Code of Justinian, Diocletian visited Philippopolis in 293 and 294/5 AD.

utilized this space as well. This most likely became less common when the *parodoi* were vaulted since these vaults then partially obscured spectators' views of the lower porches.[27]

Thus, whether the theater was hosting a traditional tragedy or comedy, a mime or pantomime, a choral group, a gladiatorial battle, or an animal hunt, the *scaenae frons* had considerable potential to highlight these performances' messaging through its decoration. Its ornate columns and entablatures at least impressed upon audiences the value of leisure. For example, a frieze of laurel garlands and bull heads from the *scaenae frons*' second-story entablature conveys that leisure reflected and helped to sustain urban prosperity. If added in the early 4th century AD, this frieze and the performances it helped to frame would have symbolized Philippopolis' renewal after Gothic raids in previous decades.[28]

Although gladiatorial battles and animal hunts may have used the stage to some extent, these performances predominantly took place in the orchestra. Here they were framed by the *cavea*'s podium wall and netting system, the grills that closed the three staircases to the orchestra floor, the *parodoi*'s gated entrances, and the tall *proscaenium.*[29] These features would have worked together to heighten excitement for an upcoming combat and to thereby help to emotionally prepare spectators and performers to scrutinize the various traits and behaviors these agonistic performances showcased. The elevator installed in the orchestra in the late 2nd century

[27] Ivanov 2005, 23; Martinova-Kyutova and Sharankov 2018, 67-8; Topalilov 2012, 36.

[28] Topalilov 2012, 31.

[29] Perhaps like the theaters at Philippi, Thasos, and Maroneia, animal hunts in Philippopolis' initially entailed low-jumping animals, such as bulls and bears, until a netting system was installed in the early 2nd century AD (when the *parodoi* were likely vaulted). At this point the orchestra would have been able to contain deer and big cats.

AD was able to further increase this effect by adding greater flair to the introduction of gladiators, animal hunters, and animals into the arena.[30]

In their reliefs and inscriptions, several different kinds of finds from Philippopolis and its hinterland reveal themselves to be material outcomes of the theater's promotion of various cultural values by hosting animal hunts and gladiatorial games. One such find the theater helped to introduce to its urban landscape is a decorative architrave that depicts gladiators in actions. The original setting of this architectural decoration in the 2nd – 3rd century AD is unknown, so it can only be said that it was once placed in a highly visible public location. The preserved section of the architrave depicts three pairs of gladiators. From left to right, they are a *διμάχαιρος* with two swords facing a *retiarius* with an extended spear, a *secutor* raising his shield against an attacking *retiarius*, and a *retiarius* readying his net for an advancing heavy gladiator (Fig. 92). A long thin palm branch divides the left and center gladiator pairings.[31]

This decorative architrave commemorates the kinds of gladiatorial battles the city's theater hosted. The dynamism with which the gladiators are depicted indicates that the theater impressed upon the frieze's dedicators the value of the martial skill and courage of the gladiators who performed there. The palm branch supports this idea as a symbol of the success the depicted gladiators achieved through these traits. Once in place, the frieze was able to help the theater promote cultural values like martial skill and courage among Philippopolis' people, particularly by inviting them to attend future gladiatorial games.

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[30] Before this time, some gladiators, animal hunters, and animals likely entered the orchestra through the *proscaenium*, as was likely the case in Philippi's theater before the early 3rd century AD.

[31] Andreeva 2014, 338, Cat. #III/473; Kesiakova 1999, 50; Vagalinski 2009, 115, 205, Cat. #123, Fig. 123; 1991, 36-7; The extant architrave block measures 2.40 m long, 0.80 m tall, and 0.55 m thick, and the relief is c. 0.35 m tall. It was found in the fortification wall near the eastern gate, where it was likely placed in the 6th century AD. Vagalinski holds that the three pairs of gladiators are phases of the same battle. The right two pairings could be from the same battle, but the left one is different and is even set apart from the other two by space and the palm frond. Vagalinski suggests that the architrave block came from the theater (1991).

One *invitatio ad munera* has been found at Philippopolis. Like the architrave, it exemplifies how the theater tangibly shaped its city by promoting the spread of intangible cultural values among people at gladiatorial games and animal hunts. As with the *invitationes* from Thessalonica, it likely had been posted in or around the agora. Dated to the late 2nd century AD, it announces two days of animal hunts and gladiatorial battles. A relief of the gladiators, animal hunters, and animals that crowds were to expect accompanied the inscription. One animal hunter is preserved; dressed in a tunic with a harness strap at his back, the curly-haired hunter thrusts his spear to his left. His stage-name "*Μασχάλις*" ("The Mutilator") suggests he was known for qualities like martial skill and strength but also for his ferocity. The theater's animal hunts thus prompted spectators to consider humanity's relationship with the natural world and the qualities people were to embrace or avoid for order to be victorious over barbarism.[32]

The theater's capacity to shape its urban landscape by hosting gladiatorial battles and animal hunts is also attested in funerary monuments for an animal hunter and a few gladiators. That the animal hunter Sabinus was interred in a sarcophagus suggests he accrued a fair amount of money and renown through his performances in the theater sometime in the 2nd – 3rd century AD. Part of the metrical inscription that commemorated Sabinus is visible on the preserved fragment of the sarcophagus. The note that he died from an illness and not the jaws of wild animals indicates his profession. Sabinus' wife Zoe insists on this point, which implies that he was known in life and was to be remembered for his professional skill and courage.[33] Sabinus'

[32] Andreeva 2014, 333, Cat. # II/366; Ducros 2018, 345; Vagalinski 2009, 84, 194, Cat. #90, Fig. 90; [*ἐπιτελέσουσιν κυνηγεσίων καὶ μονομαχιῶν ἡμέρας*] *δύο.*

[33] *IGBulg* III,1 1020; V, 5450; Vagalinski 2009, 99, 189, Cat. #78; The first three lines of the inscription are mostly missing. From the end of the third line, the inscription reads: *Ṣαβ̣ε̣ῖνος/ [ε]ὐ[φ]ρ̣ᾳσίαις π̣άσαις τὸν βίον ἐ̣ξανύσας/ οὐ θηρῶν γενύεσσι δαμείς, νούσῳ δὲ βροτείῃ/ τρειακονταέτης ἤλυθον εἰς Ἀΐδην./ θῆκε δέ μοι μνήμης ἀντάξια δῶρα ποροῦσα/ Ζωὴ τήνδε σορὸν σύνγαμος οὖσα φίλη.* (I, Sabinus, finished my life in good cheer. I went to Hades at thirty years old because I was overcome by an illness and not the jaws of wild animals. My dear wife Zoe set up this

sarcophagus thus tangibly expresses how, by showcasing animal hunters' skills, Philippopolis' theater helped to expand connections among them and spectators in the form of shared values.

The same can be said for gladiators' funerary monuments found at Philippopolis and in its hinterland. A stele dedicated by Secunda to her husband, who is identified with the stage-name Pherops ("The Enforcer"), in the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD is one such monument from the eastern necropolis. The stele's relief shows Secunda observing Pherops from his right side while he faces the viewer. He wears a *subligaculum* and a greave on his left leg and holds a knife in his right hand. His left hand rests on a helmet; its crest, smooth face-guard, and small eye holes mean Pherops was a *secutor* (Fig. 93).[34] The monument conveys through the deceased's stage-name and bold appearance with his armature that he won the admiration of the public through the traits (e.g. martial skill, courage, and strength) he modelled for them in life.

An altar dedicated to a deceased gladiator that was found in Philippopolis' hinterland is also dated to the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD. The inscription at the top and bottom of the relief panel identifies the deceased as Victor "the left-handed" from Thessalonica. It further records in a formulaic expression that another gladiator named Pinnas killed Victor and that Victor's comrade-at-arms Polyneikes later avenged him by killing Pinnas. The inscription therefore suggests that in some gladiatorial games in Philippopolis' theater the idea of vengeance was explicitly explored and presented as an admirable goal. The altar's relief depicts Victor in a *subligaculum* and with a *manica* at his left shoulder; a *secutor*'s crested helmet is at his right

sarcophagus as a gift worthy of my memory.) As is common for gladiators and animal hunters' funerary monuments, the sarcophagus was likely decorated with a relief of the deceased exercising his trade.

[34] *IGBulg* V, 5465; Kesiakova 1999, 49; Vagalinski 2009, 98, 188, Cat. #76, Fig. 76; 1991, 29, Fig. 1; *Σεκοῦνδα/ Φέροπι τῷ // ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ μνί-/ ας χάριν.* The stele is 0.36 m tall and 0.25 m wide.

foot. This image presents Victor as commendable for traits like martial skill and determination by including a wreath crown in his right hand and a palm frond at his left side (Fig. 94).[35]

In noting that Victor was Thessalonian, his funerary altar indicates that Philippopolis' theater hosted gladiatorial troupes that performed in Macedonia and other neighboring provinces. It thus shows that the theater promoted interregional cultural ties while bringing its city's population together over shared values. The funerary monument to the *retiarius* Phlameates ("The Inflamed") that was found at Philippopolis is a similar manifestation of the theater's cultural function. This stele, which does not have a relief, notes in its inscription that Phlameates was from Perge in Pamphilia, where he likely began his career as a fighter. As for the qualities that Phlameates displayed in the arena, besides the connotations of his stage-name the stele states that the *retiarius* was "first-class" (*πρώτος πάλος*). The public at Philippopolis was thus to commend the gladiator for qualities like his energy, skill, and commitment.[36]

The decoration of consumer goods sold at Philippopolis also reflect the gladiatorial games and animal hunts the theater hosted. Such goods corroborate what the aforementioned funerary monuments suggest from the point of view of performers and their loved ones: that spectators of gladiatorial combats and animal hunts took moral lessons from these performances and wanted to remember them through personal possessions. One such consumer good found at a Late Antique sanctuary in Philippopolis' hinterland is a c. 1 m tall limestone table support

[35] *IGBulg* III,1 1019; Kesiakova 1999, 49; Robert 1940, 48, 94; Vagalinski 2009, 90-1, 149, Cat. #9; 1991, 29, 31, Fig. 3; The altar was found at Asenovgrad, c. 18 km from Plovdiv. It is 1.08 m tall and 0.41 m wide, and its relief field is 0.50 m tall and 0.55 m wide. It reads: *Βίκτωρ σκευᾶς ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι, πατρὶς/ δέ μου Θεσσαλονείκη· ἔκτεινέ με δαί/ μων, οὐχ ὁ ἐπίορκος Πιννας· μηκέτι/ καυχάστω· ἔσχον ἐγὼ σύνοπλα // Πολυνείκην, ὅς κτείνας Πινναν/ ἐξεδίκησεν ἐμέ. Κλ(αύδιος) Θάλλος/ προέστη τοῦ μνημείου ἐξ ὧν κατέλι/ πεν.* (I, Victor the left-handed, lie here; my hometown is Thessalonica. A divine spirit killed me, not the liar Pinnas. Do not let him boast. I had a comrade-at-arms Polyneikes, who killed Pinnas and avenged me. Claudius Thallus set [this] up from the funds I left behind.)

[36] *IGBulg* III,1 1018; Kesiakova 1999, 49; Vagalinski 2009, 98, 188-9, Cat. #77; The stone marker (2nd – 3rd century AD) is dedicated by the deceased's wife Gaiana. Its inscription ends with the warning that anyone who tampers with the monument will be fined 500 *denari*. The inscription reads: *Φλαμεάτῃ ῥη(τι)αρίῳ πρώτῳ π(ά)-/ λῳ Περγαί(ῳ) ἡ ἰδία σύμβιος/ Γαιανὴ μνείας χάριν ἐκ τῶν/ [ἰ]δίων· ἐὰν δέ τις πωλήσῃ/ [δώ](σ)ει εἰς τὴν πό[λιν (δηνάρια)] φ'.*

decorated with a high relief and dated to the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD. The support's relief shows a *secutor* in his crested helmet with small eye holes; he holds his curved rectangular shield against his body with his left hand and once held a sword in the other (Fig. 95). An inscription below the *secutor* identifies him as Epiptas "The Striker" (*Ἐπιπτᾶς vac Πουλσάτωρ*). Epiptas has defeated a *retiarius*, who appeals for mercy from a seated position. Behind the two gladiators is a referee who calls the fight. Above this group of figures are two cherubs seated at a pipe organ.[37]

Everything pictured on this table support could have been seen in Philippopolis' theater. That Epiptas is named makes it particularly likely that the support's relief scene commemorates an actual fight. Just as it would have in the theater, the scene of Epiptas and the *retiarius* conveys the former's martial skill, athleticism, and mercy and so endorses them as positive character traits. The referee between the two gladiators serves as a subtle exhortation to the viewer to respect law and order. A pipe organ easily could have been played in the theater to increase audiences' excitement for gladiatorial games, thus helping to create a context for leisure. In turn, the representation of an organ encourages contemplation of leisure's value. In sum, the decorative table support is a product of several cultural values that Philippopolis' theater promoted. Among its viewers, then, the support was able to encourage future attendance at or friendly discussion of the gladiatorial games that promoted these values as well as the acquisition of additional material forms that reflected these interactions.

Smaller artifacts with gladiatorial decorations had a similar promotional potential for consumers at Philippopolis. As in Macedonia, common examples of these consumer goods were ceramic oil lamps decorated with images of single or paired gladiators. On such lamp found in a street drain at Philippopolis and dated to the 3rd century AD depicts a fight between two heavy

[37] *IGBulg* III,1 1453; V, 5532; Ajootian 2000, 501; Vagalinski 2009, 188, Cat. #75; 1991, 30-1, Fig. 4; This sculpture was found at modern Tatarevo, c. 79 km southeast of Plovdiv.

gladiators. For its owner, it could have represented, among other things, admiration for the skill gladiators displayed in the arena and love for the cathartic excitement that such a fight offered.[38] The lamp's use likely inspired its owner to attend other gladiatorial games, to discuss these experiences with friends, and to purchase more such goods.

The aforementioned architectural decorations, funerary monuments, and consumer goods thus attest to the capacity of Philippopolis' theater to increase the number of human, intangible (i.e. ideas), and material actors in its local urban network by bringing people together for animal hunts and gladiatorial combats. The city's stadium is another new material actor the theater helped to contribute to Philippopolis' urban landscape through the performances it hosted (Fig. 19, #3). The popularity of the theater's entertainments would have been a fairly significant impetus for the introduction of this additional larger venue for cultural interactions. In other words, the stadium demonstrates that Philippopolis' leaders wanted to capitalize on the morale-boosting and community-building potential of public entertainments, as it had hitherto been experienced in the theater. It is likely, then, that the theater's location between Dzhambaz and Taksim Tepe guided the decision to build the stadium at the bottom of the latter hill.

The stadium was primarily a venue for athletic and equestrian events. Athletic festivals took place on the track (c. 240 m long and 25-35 m wide). The surrounding podium wall (1.8 m tall) afforded a good viewing angle for those seated in the *cavea*'s lowest rows. The track also could have accommodated dramatic performances like mimes and pantomimes and musical

[38] Vagalinski 2009, 119-20, 209, Cat. #138, no photo; This lamp is otherwise unpublished. Vagalinski asserts that according to his analysis lamps decorated with gladiatorial scenes were imported into Thrace from Italy from the mid-1st into the 2nd century AD and that it was around the end of this century that local versions began to be produced in Thrace. He also notes that such lamps were commonly imported from Attica in the 3rd to mid-4th century AD. These lamps thus indicate that Philippopolis' theater stimulated local production and interregional trade by increasing popular interest in gladiators. Minchev (2019, 212) similarly notes that a currently unpublished ceramic workshop dated to the 2nd century AD and found at Philippopolis contained ceramic lamps decorated with scenes from dramatic performances.

events, but no evidence indicates that it necessarily did. Moreover, given that the theater was modified for gladiatorial games and animal hunts and that the podium wall of the stadium's *cavea* was not (i.e. no post holes for a netting system or slots for grills in the wall's staircases), the stadium likely did not accommodate these performances.[39]

The stadium is best known from civic coins, medallions, and a few inscriptions (see below) for hosting athletic events in the context of imperial Alexandrian and Kendrisian Pythian games. Based on this evidence, the first of these Pythian games occurred in the reign of Caracalla when he traversed Thrace on his way to Asia Minor (214/5 AD). According to the usual four-year cycle of such games, Kendrisian Pythian games that coincided with and celebrated a visit from Elagabalus followed these Alexandrian Pythian games in 218/9 AD. No evidence supports the continuation of Philippopolis' Pythian games past the mid-3rd century AD. Modelled on Delphi's *Pythia*, they entailed musical and theatrical events and athletic displays. The theater most likely hosted the former, particularly since it was close to the stadium. Statues dedicated in the theater support this (see below). The streets between the two entertainment venues were thus most likely sized and arranged to afford efficient crowd traffic on such occasions.[40]

The figures and attributes on the medallions and coins minted to commemorate Philippopolis' Alexandrian and Kendrisian Pythian festivals indicate some of the athletic events they included. Most of these medallions and coins depict a single nude athlete, and he often

[39] Ivanov et al. 2006, 82, 85; Martinova 2005, 218; Topalilov 2012, 42-3, 46; Vagalinski 2009, 10, 76; 1991, 37; Kesiakova (1999, 15) refers to the stadium as the stadium/ amphitheater and so perhaps holds that gladiatorial games did take place there. Gladiatorial games did not strictly necessitate the closure of staircases that reached the track, though, so the stadium's track was technically able to accommodate these performances.

[40] Andreeva 2014, 309-10, 316-7; Ivanov et al. 2006, 82-3, 86; Kesiakova 1999, 47; Lozanov 2015, 83; Topalilov 2012, 10, 43-4; Vagalinski 2009, 11, 31-3, 48, 129; 1994; In the territory of Thrace that falls within modern Bulgaria, medallions that commemorate athletic festivals have only been found at Philippopolis. The city's Alexandrian Pythian games are most commonly dated to 214, but Petya Andreeva argues for 215 based on her dating of the next set of Pythian games to 219 AD. A monument to the athlete Valerius Eclectus from Athens attests to at least one more set of Kendrisian Pythian games after those of 218/9 AD.

holds or stands next to athletic equipment like a discus or javelin. These attributes indicate discus and javelin throwing in the context of the pentathlon. The same can be said for the images of wrestlers engaging in a bout or standing next to amphoras, ready to apply oil to their bodies. A couple of coin issues show boxers punching with their left arm. Coins minted to commemorate a festival in Commodus' principate also indicate that events like the pentathlon were included in earlier games in Philippopolis' stadium. These coins show a nude athlete with three attributes of the pentathlete: a discus, javelins, and jumping weights.[41]

By showcasing idealized athletes with the tools of their trade or in action, these medallions and coins express in material form how the stadium encouraged spectators to admire the traits these performers exhibited, such as athleticism and perseverance. Judging from their designs, these new material actors were in turn able and expected by their designers to prompt the people who used them to consider these traits in later interactions (e.g. conversation, commerce, and attendance at other athletic games). Other medallions and coins minted to commemorate Philippopolis' Alexandrian and Kendrisian *Pythia* suggest this potential more directly. They show nude athletes holding a palm branch and a wreath crown, thus equating their qualities as athletes with victory. That the images on the above medallions and coins are paralleled on coins found in other provinces indicates that the stadium bolstered interregional connections through the cultural interactions it enabled at Philippopolis and in Thrace.[42]

[41] Ivanov et al. 2006, 86; Topalilov 2012, 10, 43; Vagalinski 2009, 48-52, 129, Figs. I.3/1 (games in Commodus' principate), I.3/2, 4a, 7, 16 (boxers and discus and javelin throwers), I.3/7, 14 (a pair of wrestlers), I.3/5, 7, 18 (athletes and an amphora); Vagalinski notes that while the medallions and coins generally bear the same images, those on the latter are more varied. The most common reverse image on the former is a table with a crown and a palm branch or five applies (symbolic of the Pythian games) on top of it. Below the table are one or more palm branches, amphoras, and five more apples (I.3/2, 15, 19). As Topalilov notes, it is thought that the games in the time of Commodus date to c. 186 AD since a statue base dated to this year was found in the agora (*IGBulg* III,1 881).

[42] Vagalinski 2009, 53, 129, Figs. I.3/9, 10 (athletes with palm branches and crowns); On medallions and coins that picture athletes with palm branches and crowns, the crown is either held out in front of the athlete or over his head.

Inscriptions from Philippopolis that honor victorious athletes further manifest the stadium's cultural function. One inscribed statue base honors the pancratist M. Mestrius from Ainos (southeastern Thrace near the Hellespont). He won in the adolescent ("beardless") category in Philippopolis' Kendrisian Pythian games and in Hadrianic Olympian games at Cyzicus.[43] Another base dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD similarly records that Poplius Ailius Dioskourides from Philippopolis won the youth pankration at games in the city. He was seemingly a talented athlete and from a relatively wealthy family since the inscription also notes that he was the president for life (*ξυστάρχης διὰ βίου*) of an athletic club at Pautalia.[44]

The names of the athletes on two other monuments are not preserved. One monument is a statue that was set in the theater since its base and parts of the *scaena* were built into a wall near the theater in the 6th century AD. The base commemorates an athlete who won the pankration 40 times and wresting nine times at games "across the world" (*εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην*). The base names the athlete's trainer, Aurelius Theodorus from Cumae; his name or simply his foreign origin was expected to elicit additional respect for the athlete from the statue's viewer.[45] The second monument is a fragmentary marble plaque. This athlete won the pentathlon at the

[43] *IGBulg* III,1 892; Vagalinski 2009, 29, 192, Cat. #85; This base is 0.86 x 0.26 m and is dated to 218 AD based on the reference to Kendrisian games. The inscription reads: *Ἀγαθῆι [τύχηι]./ Μ(ᾶρκον) Μέστριο[ν - -]/ τον Αἴνι[ον νικήσαν-]/ τα ἀγενεί[ων - - - -]/ Κ̣ενδρεισ[εια ἐν τ̣ῇ]/ [μ]ητροπόλ[ει, Ἁδρια-]/ νὰ Ὀλύμ[πια ἐν Κυζί-]/ κῳ πανκρ[άτιον - - -]/ . . . τριο - - - - - - - -/ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -.*

[44] *IGBulg* III,1 893; V, 5404; Vagalinski 2009, 29, 192, Cat.#86; The base measures 0.55 x 0.39 x 0.21 m. It reads: *Ἀγαθῆι [τύχηι]./ Πό(πλιος) Αἴλ(ιος) Διοσκου[ρίδης Φιλιπ-]/ ποπολείτης ἱερ[ονίκης, ξυ-]/ στάρχης διὰ Βίου [τῆς τῶν]/ Παυταλεωτῶν πό[λεως, νικήσας]/ ἀγενείων πανκ[ράτιον - -]/ . . . ̣τ . ̣τι - - - - - - - - - - - -/ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -.*

[45] *IGBulg* III,1 891; Kesiakova 1999, 49; Sharankov 2005a, 64, fn. 18; Vagalinski 2009, 28-9, 191, Cat. #83; Vagalinski identifies this Cumae as the one in Lydia, which is plausible based on the trainer's Greek name Theodoros. He also suggests that the athlete himself may have come from Asia Minor. Dated to the first half of the 3rd century AD after 212 AD, this inscription reads: - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -/ *[πα]νκρα̣τιασ[τ]ή̣ς, [παλαιστής]/ νεικήσας ἀγῶνας ἱεροὺς εἰσε-/ λαστικοὺς εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκου-/ μένην, πανκρατίου μὲν τεσ[σα-]/ ράκοντα, πάλης δὲ ἐννέα.* vacat *[Υ]πὸ ἐπιστάτην Αὐρ(ήλιον) Θεόδωρον/ Κυμαῖον.* vac *εὐτυχῶς.*

Kendrisian Pythian games in 218/9 AD. *Κοινὸν Ἀσίας/ ἐν Σάρδεσι* is inscribed in a wreath above the inscription and so means that the athlete also won at Asia's provincial games at Sardis.[46]

The above four inscriptions are thus memorials to athletes' deeds in Philippopolis' stadium. As such, they attest that the stadium brought people together even after athletic festivals to consider the traits for which the building encouraged athletes to be respected. In noting athletes' origins and attendance at games outside Thrace, these monuments also show that the stadium endorsed interactions over cultural values that were shared across the Roman Empire.

In the same way that Philippopolis' theater most likely catalyzed the stadium's construction by promoting leisure's morale-boosting potential, the stadium should be seen as a driving force for the construction of baths north of the agora in the mid-2nd century AD (Fig. 19).[47] Like the stadium, these baths provided Philippopolis' inhabitants and visitors another facility for recreation in the city. The baths' location around two blocks south of the stadium and in line with its central axis supports this causal relationship.[48] Both factors further suggest that the baths were intended to function as a complex with the stadium. The leisure activities the baths afforded would have complemented people's experiences in the stadium, especially if the baths were used during festivals. Spectators were able to continue talking about the performances they had witnessed while engaging in athletic activities in the baths' *palaestra*. They were even able to practice the same traits for which they had admired athletes in the stadium.

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[46] *IGBulg* III,1 889; V, 5403; Kesiakova 1999, 49; Vagalinski 2009, 27-8, 191-2, Cat. #84; The inscription below the wreath is restored as follows: - - - - - - - - - - - - -/ *[- - - - - πένταθ]λος νει-/ [κήσας τὰ μεγά]λα Κεν-/ [δρεισεια Πύθι]α τὰ πρῶ-/ [τα τεθέντα ἀ]ναστη-/ [σάντων τὸν ἀ]νδρι-/ [άντα αὐτοῦ τ]ῷν ἀγω-/ [νοθετῶν - - -]ΗΤΩΝ/ [- - - - - - - - - ἀγ]ῶνας/* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ?/ - - - - - - - - - - - *Ω.*

[47] Boyadjiev 2006, 65-6; Kesiakova 1999, 15-6; Topalilov 2012, 37-8, Fig. 25; As Topalilov argues, the baths were most likely built in the mid-2nd century AD since this is when the aqueduct that fed the baths was finished (Fig. 19, #9). The baths' mosaics and construction materials generally corroborate this date. They were rebuilt in the second half of the 3rd century AD after suffering damage, as was attested in a burn layer across its excavated portions.

[48] The baths and the space between them and the stadium are not completely excavated, but a square or wide street was most likely located between them to facilitate heavy pedestrian traffic between these high-occupancy buildings.

It was not long after these Western Baths were constructed that Philippopolis' *bouleuterium* likely began functioning as an *odeum* (Fig. 19, #6). No monuments, artifacts, or sculptural remains from the *scaenae frons* confirm that performances took place in this building. The *odea* at the Macedonian cities discussed in previous chapters, however, generally support the likelihood that the *bouleuterium* hosted performances. Moreover, the square on the building's western side can also be seen as an outcome of the *bouleuterium/odeum* hosting small dramatic performances, musical events, and lectures. Such entertainments would have provided spectators opportunities to contemplate and discuss tragic and comedic themes and philosophical lessons. In doing so, these entertainments would have encouraged people to spend more time around the *odeum* and to more frequently consult literary and philosophical texts in the library, This activity, then, would help to explain the square's construction as a decorative forecourt for the *bouleuterium* that also articulated its proximity to the library/archive.

The Political Function of Philippopolis' Entertainment Venues

Every dramatic performance, gladiatorial game, animal hunt, and athletic event in Philippopolis' theater and stadium brought together large cross-sections of the city's inhabitants and visitors. These entertainments also separated crowds in these buildings' performance and seating areas according to factors like wealth, profession, and legal status. Philippopolis' theater and stadium thus held significant potential to guide how people in their city thought about their relationships with each other and how they interacted when they left these buildings. The *odeum* had the same potential but to a lesser degree since it catered to smaller, likely largely elite audiences (see Chapter 5's discussion of Thessalonica's *odeum*). Moreover, the presence at performances of people and images that represented administrators and other communities in Thrace or the Roman Empire prompted people's consideration of Philippopolis' place in its

regional and imperial networks. Monuments and artifacts were produced at Philippopolis that expressed and further promoted the political ideas (e.g. senses of hierarchy, a unified civic community, and sub-community identities) that the city's entertainment venues had encouraged.

There is plentiful architectural and inscriptional evidence for how the theater prompted spectators and performers to interact according to a social hierarchy, shared civic pride, and distinct group identities. In terms of architectural evidence, the theater physically separated spectators from performers. The realm of the former was the *cavea* while that of the latter was the *scaena* and orchestra. By positioning spectators above performers at performances, the podium wall around the orchestra was capable of reinforcing for the former their superior status in relation to performers. Before and after performances the orchestra was open to spectators who entered and exited the theater by its *parodoi* and the hillside staircases behind them. It seems more likely, though, that performers primarily used these staircases since they directly accessed the *scaena*. These staircases also made for a fairly strenuous and narrow climb up to the theater for spectators. The vaulted passage at the top of the *ima cavea* afforded spectators a more accessible and direct way to reach their seats, which suggests that spectators primarily used this entrance/ exit. By allotting entertainers and the entertained separate areas of use and separate avenues to reach these areas in these particular ways, the theater was able to reinforce the former's generally low social standing in the eyes of the latter.[49]

At the same time, it was by structurally facilitating the separation of performers from spectators that the theater showcased the former's professions. The theater thus could elicit respect from the audience and so counteract the low legal standing and reputation that performers generally held. The aforementioned architrave block decorated with gladiatorial scenes, funerary

[49] Botusharova 1980, 12; Ivanov et al. 2006, 89; Kolarova 1980, 14.

monuments for an animal hunter and gladiators, and gladiatorial-themed consumer goods are evidence that this capacity was realized. The grave monuments attest to this capacity particularly well since, as is noted above, the admiration with which they recall performers' careers was predicated on a loved one's belief that the public generally shared this sentiment. These monuments also manifest that the theater promoted a sense of community among the performers who worked closely together in the orchestra and *scaena*.

In the theater's *cavea*, spectators were also separated in ways that highlighted and so promoted their adherence to status distinctions. Philippopolis' wealthiest citizens were the most conspicuous spectators; they predominantly sat in the rows closest to the orchestra. As in Heraclea Lyncestis and Stobi's theater, especially prominent individuals such as game-givers sat in a *pulvinar* at the center of the *summa cavea*.[50] Both spaces made elites highly visible to non-elites, particularly considering that elites' clothing, jewelry, and manner of movement set them apart. This act of display included elites either descending the *ima cavea* or walking along the top of the podium wall at the base of the *summa cavea* to take their seats. The addition of a third tier of seating in the early 4th century AD enabled even larger cross-sections of Philippopolis' population to become more aware of their status distinctions and of elite privilege.

The theater thus stood out in its urban landscape for its capacity to bring together so many elites and non-elites. For the latter, the theater offered rare opportunities to see civic and provincial leaders in person. For non-elites in particular but also elites, then, the theater bolstered a sense that Philippopolis' wealthy office-holders were a united sub-community. At the same time, elites left the theater more aware of the differences in wealth and renown among themselves. For this reason, performances and assemblies in the theater fueled elite competition.

[50] Topalilov 2012, 30; Topalilov also hypothesizes that a *tribunal*/*pulvinar* was located over the western *parodos*.

This competition generally supported the existence of an elite class and social hierarchy at Philippopolis but could have destabilized the fortunes of particular elites.

Several inscribed honorific monuments and architectural decorations found in the theater and across Philippopolis attest to how the theater reinforced the public's support of a social hierarchy. Commissioned after certain elites patronized the theater to vie for support among non-elites and each other, these material actors further encouraged Philippopolis' inhabitants to view elites as key to their city's prosperity. Since they were often dedicated by or to officials and governing bodies that exercised authority on regional and imperial scales, these material actors stress that Philippopolis' elite leadership depended on the city's participation in wider urban networks for its success. Four such monuments found in the theater have already been introduced and typify the others' forms: the statue bases dedicated to Ti. Claudius Sacerdos Julianus and T. Flavius Kotys and the inscribed architraves that mention Trajan and Galerius.

Since Philippopolis' city council and people honored Julianus and Kotys with statues in the theater, their attendance of performances and assemblies here must have to a fair extent fueled the renown with which they were regarded. Their roles as imperial procurator and city representative, imperial priest, and priest of Asklepios, respectively, urged their participation on these occasions. These positions also make it highly likely that Julianus and Kotys received acclaim by funding performances in the theater.[51] Julianus and Kotys' statues exemplify well the material actors that were produced because the theater provided elites opportunities to gain

[51] Julianus' inscription: *Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δ-/ ῆμος ὁ Φιλιππο-/ πολειτῶν ἐτείμη-/ σεν τὸν εὐεργέτην τῆς μητροπόλεως/ Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον/ Σακέρδωτα Ἰου-/ λιανὸν ἐπίτροπον/ Σεβαστοῦ.* Kotys' inscription: *Τὸν [ἀ]πὸ προγόνων πρῶτον/ τῆς ἐπα[ρχεί]ας καὶ ἐνάρε/ τον ἄνδρα, [ἀ]ρχιερέα τε τρὶς τῆς/ Θρᾳκῶν ἐπαρχείας καὶ τῶν ἐ-/ ν αὐτῇ πόλεων καὶ ἔγδικον τῆς/ μητροπόλεως κᾳὶ ἐργεπιστάτην/ διά τε τοῦ πρῶτον [ἄρ]ξαι τόπον με/ γάλοις ἔργοις τὴν πόλ[ιν κε]κοσμηκότα,/ δημοφίλητον καὶ δι[ὰ βί]ου ἱερ[έ]α Ἀσ-/ κληπιοῦ Τ(ίτον) Φλάουιον [Ρησκου?-]/ πορεως υἱὸν Κυρείνα Κοτ[υν], etc.*. See footnotes above for these inscriptions' citations. The note on Kotys' statue base that he was superintendent of building works (*ἐργεπιστάτης*) hints that he played a role in the theater's construction. If so, he would have received a good deal of acclaim while present at the first performances in the theater.

influence over their peers and non-elites by displaying their wealth and public office. The statues helped the theater promote the idea among spectators and performers that the leadership of an elite class with regional and interregional ties involving Rome was beneficial to Philippopolis' success as a preeminent urban center in Thrace.

Two other bases found outside the theater further attest to its capacity to shape its urban landscape by endorsing the authority of elites with local and regional responsibilities. One base originally supported a statue of the provincial governor Q. Sicinnius Clarus, who is also labelled as a benefactor of the city; the high priest Poplius Hadrianus Sallustius dedicated the statue.[52] The other base supported a statue of Alexander Severus, which T. Flavius Priscianus the military commander (*πρώταρχος*), Thracarch, and high priest dedicated on Philippopolis' behalf.[53] These monuments demonstrate that elites garnered popular support at performances and assemblies in the theater because a high priest of the imperial cult (*ἀρχιερεὺς δι' ὅπλων*) dedicated each monument. As priests of the imperial cult, the dedicators were expected both to attend the theater on these occasions and to organize gladiatorial games and animal hunts.[54] Since the city council permitted Sallustius and Priscianus to commemorate their terms as imperial high priest, the theater seems to have successfully bolstered their public standings through these expectations.

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[52] *IGBulg* V, #5407; Andreeva 2014, 311, 330; Ducros 2018, 346; Streinu 2018, 361; Vagalinski 2009, 83, 192-3, Cat. #87 (1.04 x 0.60 x 0.56 m); *Ἀγαθῇι τύχηι./ Κ(οΐντον) Σικίν(νιον) Κλᾶρον/ ἡγεμονεύσαντα/ τῆς Θρᾳκῶν ἐπαρ-/ χείας τὸν μέγαν/ ὑπατικὸν Πό(πλιος) Ἀδρι-/ άν(ιος) Σαλλούστι[ος]/ ἀρχιερεὺς δι' ὅπλῳ[ν]/ [τὸν ἑαυ]τοῦ εὐεργέ[την]/ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -*. This monument is dated to 204-5 AD.

[53] *IGBulg* V, #5408; Andreeva 2014, 310; Streinu 2018, 360; Vagalinski 2009, 83, 193, Cat. #88 (1.10 x 0.26 x 0.35 m); *Ἀγαθῇι τύχηι./ Τὸν θεοφιλέστατον αὐτοκράτορα καὶ τῆς οἰκουμενης ἀπάσης/ δεσπότην Μᾶρ(κον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Σεουῆρον Ἀ[λ]έ[ξ]ανδρον σεβαστὸν ἡ/ λαμπροτάτη Θρᾳκῶν μητρόπολις Φιλιππόπολις νεοκόρος (sic)/ πρωταρχοῦντος καὶ ἐπιμελουμένου Τ(ίτου) Φλ(αβίου) Πρεισκιανοῦ/ θρᾳκάρχου καὶ ἀρχιερέως δι' ὅπλων*. This inscription is dated to Alexander Severus' reign (222-35 AD).

[54] Andreeva 2014, 329; Ducros 2018, 345; Streinu 2018, 358-9; Vagalinksi 2009, 82-3, 136-7; The title *ἀρχιερεὺς δι' ὁπλων* is a common way by which inscriptions in Thrace refer to high priests of the imperial cult. As an *invitatio* found at Odessos reveals, a set of gladiatorial games and animal hunts was presented in this city in Alexander Severus' reign (February or April 227 AD) as well (see Vagalinski 2009, 178-9, Cat. #56).

The Trajanic architrave from the theater's *parascaenia* typifies the few inscribed architectural decorations found in and outside the theater that came out of the building's promotion of those at the top of Philippopolis' social hierarchy. These inscriptions record the same local and regional public offices as the aforementioned statue bases and so express the idea that local urban prosperity depended on participation in a wider urban network. These architectural decorations largely differ from the statue bases in their reference the emperor. They explicitly link the civic benefits derived from local elite leadership to allegiance to Roman imperial authority. Regarding the more intact Trajanic architrave inscription, it reveals that the city's first archon Tarsas, son of Bessos, received the people's favor while in the theater. This explains why on behalf of the *βουλῆ* and *δήμος* Tarsas funding the *parascaenia*. Thereafter the inscribed *parascaenia* elicited further public support for local elite leadership (particularly involving Thracians from long-established families) and for Tarsas and his family in particular, even if they were not in the theater.[55]

The more complete of the two *parascaenia* inscriptions also invites support for Thrace's leadership by noting how Gn. Minicius Faustinus was the provincial imperial high priest and governor. The inscription thus intimates that Minicius approved of Tarsas dedicating the *parascaenia*. Given his titles, Minicius' approval further conveys that it was ultimately allegiance to Roman imperial authority that secured such benefactions and so Philippopolis' prosperity. Both *parascaenia* inscriptions insist on this idea by expressing hope for the health of Trajan, his wife, their family, and the Roman Senate and people. The inscriptions thus tangibly

[55] The more complete inscription reads: *Ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος Νέρουα Τρ]αιανοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ [Γερμ]ανικοῦ Δα[κικοῦ Παρθικοῦ]/ [Ἀ]ρίστου ὑγείας καὶ δ[ιαμονῆς καὶ Πλωτείνη]ς Σεβαστῆς καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος α[ὐτων οἴκου ἱερᾶς τε συγκλήτου] καὶ/ [δήμου Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς τε καὶ δήμου Φιλιππο̣πολειτῶν, ἡ]γεμονεύοντος ἐπαρχείας Θρᾴκης Γν[αίου Μινικίου Φαυστείνου (?) πρεσβευτοῦ/ Σεβαστοῦ ἀντιστρατήγου, ὁ πρῶτος ἄρχων (vel ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς) τ]ῆς Θρᾳκῶν μητροπόλεος (*sic*) Ταρσας Βασσου καὶ [ἡ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος ἡ γυνὴ (?) α]ὐτοῦ/ κατεσκέυασαν τὸν πύργον δηναρίων [-]*. See above footnotes for citations of both Trajanic architrave inscriptions.

express that the theater previously promoted allegiance to Roman imperial authority at regional and interregional levels by accommodating acclamations, images, and human representatives of this authority. Once in place, the inscriptions contributed to the theater's mediation in this regard.

The early 4th century AD inscription on the *scaenae frons*' architrave is a largely similar outcome of and contributor to the theater's endorsement of social hierarchy. It too records a structural renovation and similarly mentions the emperor, provincial governor Teres, and city administrator Saturninus in a hierarchical fashion. This inscription thus also conveys the idea that multiple levels of Roman imperial authority safeguarded Philippopolis. Since Philippopolis was renovated in the late 3rd – early 4th century AD after a time of financial and political difficulty for the city and Thrace, the city's inhabitants were likely quite receptive to this message.[56]

The inscription of the *invitatio* found at Philippopolis would have been formulated like these architrave inscriptions. Flavius Montanus, priest of Olympian Zeus, the imperial cult, and the provincial assembly, and his wife Aigialis were the *editores*. Like the examples from Thessalonica, this invitation's advertisement of future games attests the theater's successful promotion of support for local and provincial leaders and the emperor through past games.[57]

The above honorific monuments and architectural decorations show that the theater shaped its city by bolstering a sense of elite sub-community. Other monuments manifest that the theater articulated sub-community identities for groups that included non-elites. First there are

[56] Sharankov 2018, 105-6; 2014, 277-84; *Ἐπ[ὶ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Γαλερ(ίου) Οὐαλερ(ίου) Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ) τὸ θέατ]ρον ἀνεν[εώθη], ἡγεμονεύοντος [τῆ]ς Θρ[άκης] vel Θρ[άκῶν ἐπαρχείας -] Τηρου τοῦ διασημοτάτου, λογιστεύον(τος) Σατορνείνου.*

[57] Andreeva 2014, 333, Cat. # II/366; Ducros 2018, 346; Streinu 2018, 360; Vagalinski 2009, 84, 194, Cat. #90, Fig. 90; The invitation is preserved in three fragments. The largest bears these fragmented lines: *- - - - - - - -/ [- - - ἱερεὺς τοῦ] Ὀλυμ̣π[ίου Διὸς καὶ - - - καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ]/ [Σεβαστ]οῦ καὶ ἰε[ρεὺς - - - - τῆς Θρακῶν/ [ἐπαρ]χείας Φλ(άβιος) Μον̣τ[ανός - - - - - - ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς]/ [Θρακῶν] ἐπαρχείας Και[- - - καὶ/ [Αἰ]γιαλὶς σύμβιος αὐ[τοῦ - - - ἐπιτελέσουσιν κυνηγεσίων καὶ μονομαχιῶν ἡμέρας] δύο [- - -]/ - - - ΔΙ πρὸ Θ' καὶ πρὸ Η' κα[λ(ανδῶν) - - -] ὥρας Α - - -/ - -ΕΥ'- -.*

the aforementioned monuments to gladiators and an animal hunter who died at Philippopolis. In their praise of these performers' skills, these monuments show that the theater promoted a shared identity among the city's resident gladiators and animal hunters and the people associated with them. Like in Heraclea Lyncestis and Stobi's theaters, inscriptions on the *ima cavea* of Philippopolis' theater also indicate that the building encouraged spectators to identify with familial and tribal affiliations. Again, while people possibly sat according to tribes at performances, this seating arrangement is more in keeping with the context of civic assemblies.[58]

Each *phyla* was allotted one seating wedge in the *ima cavea* in Trajan's principate. Of these first *phylae* inscriptions, only the name of the Heraclean tribe is extant (*τόπος φυλῆς Ἡρ[α]κλείδ[ος]*). In Hadrian's principate, the *ima cavea* was re-divided so that two tribes shared adjacent *cunei*; one tribe occupied the lower halves of this pair of *cunei* while another occupied the upper halves. This update to the tribes' seating arrangements attests tribes named after Herakles, Philip II, Dionysos, Artemis, Orpheus, and Eumolpos. These seats were reassigned a final time in the reigns of the Severans. Four new tribes were added: Rhodopes, Hebros, Kendrisos, and Asklepios. Each of Philippopolis' now ten tribes had a single row in one of the *ima cavea*'s final *cunei*. Since assemblies in the theater involved a much smaller number of representatives, the tribes had apparently become less representative of Philippopolis' population and their role in local decision-making much reduced by the early 3rd century AD.[59]

[58] Botusharova 1984, 28-9; 1980, 13; Ivanov 2005, 23; Ivanov et al. 2006, 81; Kesiakova 1999, 64; Topalilov 2012, 30; Vagalinski 2009, 76; The names of individual family members is also attested, as Vagalinski notes. One example is the self-acclaimed philarch Tiberius Claudius Dorziates, whose name is preserved on the first row.

[59] Minchev 2019, 211-2; Topalilov 2012, 30, Fig. 23f; The Hadrianic *phylae* inscriptions appear as: *φυλῆς Φιλιππ[η]εί[ς], Διονυσιάδος, Ἡρακληίδος, Ἀρτεμισιάδος, Ὀρφεείς, Εὐμολπηίδος*. Those dating to the reigns of the Severans are: *φυλ(ῆς) Εὐμολπηίδος, Ὀρφείδ[ο]ς, Ῥοδοπηίδος, Φιλιππίδος, Ἡρακληίδος, Ἑβρηίδος, [Δι]ονυσιάδος, [Ἀ]ρτεμισιάδος, [Κεν]δρεισηίδος, Ασ[κ]λ[ηπιάδο]ς.*

By thus inspiring a sense of belonging to families and tribes through seating at performances and political assemblies, the theater had the capacity to induce people to commission monuments that advertised these sub-communities. In turn, these new material actors stood to help the theater promote various additional interactions involving these families and tribes at Philippopolis. Three monuments that are in part material expressions of the tribal identities reinforced through people's interactions in the *cavea* are statue bases that were found in the theater and so had supported statues in the *scaenae frons*.

One statue was dedicated in the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD to a now unknown *gymnasiarch* and *ἀγωνοθέτης* by Asklepiades, son of Menephron, on behalf of the Heraclean tribe.[60] On behalf of the Kendrisian tribe, Aurelius Apollonides, son of Aelius Valens, dedicated a second statue in the early 3rd century AD to Poplius Virdius Julianus, the veteran and father of two tribunes. The first line of the inscription on the statue's base is missing, but it seemingly honored Julianus as an *ἀγωνοθέτης* of a set of Pythian games (perhaps the Alexandrian *Pythia*) since an inscription from the theater dedicated by an *ephebarch* mentions him as such (see below).[61] The third base's inscription notes that Aurelius Chrestos, son of Glaukos, dedicated the base's statue to the deceased orator and tribune Poplius Virdius Julianus Junior on behalf of the Eumolpian tribe. The posting of this statue in the theater confirms that this man attended the theater as a spectator and speaker. It suggests that he organized games, too, since it records from

[60] *IGBulg* III,1 894; V, #5405; Vagalinski 2009, 44, 190-1, Cat. #81 (1.30 x 0.35 m); *- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -/ [- - - - - - - - - γυμνασι-]/ ἀρχην καὶ ἀ(γ)[ωνοθέτην]/ τῆς λαμπροτάτης [μητρο-]/ πόλεως Φιλιππου[πόλεως]/ ἀδελφὸν Γ- - - - - - - - - - - - - -/ τοῦ συγκλητ[ικοῦ - - - -]/ duo versus omnino mutili sunt/ τὸ κυνηγῶν/ [κο]ιν[ὸν ἡ] λα[μπροτάτη]/ φυλὴ Ἡ[ρακληΐς]/ [ἐ]τίμησεν, [ἐπιμελου-]/ μένου Ἀσκλ[ηπιάδου τοῦ]/ Μενέφρονος*. The mention of a "guild of animal hunters" reveals that the games over which the gymnasiarch presided included animal hunts. It seems likely that here the inscription records that the city assembly confirmed the gymnasiarch's selection of guild.

[61] *IGBulg.* III,1 886; Andreeva 2014, 313, Cat. #II/360; Sharankov 2014, 285; 2005, 62-3; Topalilov 2014a, 9; Vagalinski 2009, 190, Cat. #80 (1.25 x 0.82 x 0.62 m); *- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -/ ΩΝ Πό(πλιον) Οὐί[ρδιον]/ Ἰουλιανὸν πα[τέ-]/ ρα δύο χε[ι]λιάρχων/ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ στρα-/ τείας φυλὴ Κεν-/ δρεισηὶς, ἐκδικοῦν-/ τος Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ῥηβουκενθου,/ ἐπιμελουμένου Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀπολ-/ λωνίδου Αἰλ(ίου) Οὐάλεντος./ εὐτυχῶς.* This monument can be dated to the second quarter of the 3rd century AD.

his point of view that he followed his father's professional example (*ἔστηκα ἐν μέρει πατρὸς παῖς, ὡς ἐφέδεν με*). This third monument is dated to the late 1st – 2nd quarter of the 3rd century AD.[62] Each monument thus expresses the theater's promotion not only of a sense of belonging to a sub-community, in this case a tribe, but also of a social hierarchy and support for elite leadership.

Philippopolis' theater was also able to promote a unified civic identity among the disparate groups of its city's inhabitants who frequented its performances. Despite dividing these people by wealth, profession, legal status, and sub-community identity, etc., the theater still put them into close sustained contact in the emotionally-charged contexts of public entertainments. Because they represent people's familiarity with the theater, the individual and family names carved into the *cavea* tangibly express the idea that the theater belonged to the public sphere.

The inscriptions on some of the above architectural decorations and honorific monuments also explicitly refer to Philippopolis as a preeminent city in Thrace and so reveal that they too are material outcomes of the theater's promotion of civic identity and pride. These are the Trajanic architrave inscriptions and the inscriptions for the statues dedicated to the pancratist M. Mestrius, T. Flavius Kotys, the emperor Alexander Severus, and the unnamed *gymnasiarch* and game-giver honored by the Heraclean tribe. All of these inscriptions refer to Philippopolis by the title "metropolis." The monuments to Alexander Severus and the unnamed *gymnasiarch* also bear the qualifier "most illustrious" (*ἡ λαμπροτάτη*) while the former and the Trajanic inscriptions include "of the Thracians" (*τῶν Θρακῶν*) before "metropolis."

[62] *AE* 1999, #1394; *IGBulg* V, #5468; *SEG* 47:1088; Sharankov 2005a, 66-7; Topalilov 2014a, 9; Sharankov restores the inscription as: *Πό(πλιον) Οὐίρδιον Ἰ[ουλι-]/ ανὸν νέον χ[ειλί-]/ [αρ]χον τὸν ῥή[τορα]/ φ[υ]λὴ Εὐμολπ[ηὶς]/ τὸν ἥρωα./ Ἔστηνκα ἐν μέ[ρει]* | *πατρὸς παῖς, ὡ[ς ἐ]\φέδεν με.* | *ζωὸν ἐόντα π[ά]|| τρη στῆσεν ἐ[νὶ]* | *μεσάτῳ/ Ἐκδικοῦντος Αὐρ(ηλίου) [Πωλ-]/ λίωνος τοῦ καὶ Γεωργ[οῦ]/ ἐπιμελουμένου Αὐρ(ηλίου)/ Χρήστου Γλαύκου.* This base is dated based on the men named "Aurelius" to the first half of the 3rd century AD after the Antonine Constitution (212 AD).

Besides referring to Philippopolis' prominence in its regional urban network by calling it "the most illustrious metropolis of the Thracians," the inscription on the base of Alexander Severus' statue also does so by including the city's *neokoros* title. This title was especially indicative of the city's regional prominence since Perinthus was the only other city in Thrace that had it. According to the coins and medallions that commemorate Philippopolis' Kendrisian Pythian games, the city was declared a *neokoros* in Elagabalus' reign. The bestowal of this coveted title even seems to have been the impetus for these games. Philippopolis prominently would have been proclaimed a *neokoros* not only at these games but also at subsequent ones in the stadium and theater. The entertainments over which T. Flavius Priscianus presided in Alexander Severus' reign were one such later occasion that inspired civic pride around this title and, in turn, this pride's tangible expression in Alexander Severus' statue.[63]

The inscriptions on two other statue bases convey a unified civic identity among Philippopolis' inhabitants without referring to the city by name or title. These monuments are dated to the first two decades of the 2nd century AD. They should be seen as products of the theater's promotion of civic pride for two reasons. First, their discovery in the theater indicates that they held statues in the *scaenae frons*. Secondly, these bases' inscriptions start by noting the city council and people of Philippopolis. The *phylae* inscriptions show that both groups met at assemblies in the theater to decide on local issues. They attended the performances it hosted as well. Summarizing Philippopolis as *ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος* in their inscriptions is thus one way

[63] Andreeva 2014, 310, 315-8, 349; Kesiakova 1999, 49; Sayar 1998, 75-6; Topalilov 2012, 10; Vagalinski 2009, 49; Septimius Severus most likely designated Perinthus a *neokoros* when he visited the city in 195 AD. Elagabalus did so again when he first declared Philippopolis *neokoros*. As at Philippopolis, each grant of this status was celebrated with games (*Severeia*) and on medallions and coins. It is thought that Elagabalus' grant of *neokoros* status to both cities was revoked with his *damnatio memoriae*. Sayar asserts that Alexander Severus reaffirmed this status for Perinthus, but Andreeva holds that the emperor revoked it for Philippopolis. Topalilov asserts that the emperor declared Philippopolis *neokoros* a second time. Based on the statue dedicated to the emperor in the theater, however, it seems best to conclude that he confirmed this status for Philippopolis and Perinthus.

both monuments conveyed the shared civic identity that assemblies and performances in the theater bolstered among Philippopolis' leaders and non-elites.[64]

The inscriptions on the two monuments differ after this introduction. One is dedicated to the Thracian provincial assembly (*τὸ κοινοβούλιον τῆς Θρᾳκῶν ἐπαρχείας*) because of the governing body's "continuous goodwill" (*τῆς διηνεκοῦς εὐνοίας χάριν*). The inscription does not specify the form of this goodwill, but the statue base's location in the theater suggests the funding of performances and/or the honor of the theater hosting Thrace's assembly. Whatever the forms of this goodwill, the statue's commemoration of it demonstrate that the theater bolstered civic pride by making its city's inhabitants aware of the importance of their interactions on a regional scale. The statue likely further promoted civic identity by personifying the province of Thrace. By representing Thrace as making her home in Philippopolis, the statue would have suggested that the city was worthy of all of Thrace's favor for its service to the province.[65]

The second inscription is dedicated to the people of Perinthus, who are addressed as a brother to Philippopolis' people, and commemorates the harmony and goodwill between the cities. The base on which it is inscribed was placed in the *scaenae frons* at the same time as the previous statue, as the similar forms of the monuments and formulation of their inscriptions attest. This monument echoes the civic pride conveyed by the previous one since it also highlights Philippopolis' prominence in Thrace. It does so by presenting Philippopolis as equal in status (a "sister city") to Thrace's capital. Despite claiming Perinthus' "continuous goodwill," the base's inscription insists on harmony between the two cities, which suggests that Philippopolis' status as a metropolis had threatened Perinthus. The base's statue was likely also a

[64] Sharankov 2005a, 58-62; See below for the texts of these inscriptions.

[65] Sharankov 2005a, 59-62; *Ἡ βουλὴ{ι} καὶ ὁ/ δῆμος τὸ κοινο-/ βούλιον τῆς Θρᾳ-/ κῶν ἐπαρχείας/ τῆς διηνεκοῦς/ εὐνοίας χάριν/ ἐτείμησεν*. The provincial assembly was later referred to as *τὸ κοίνον* in inscriptions at Philippopolis.

personification, seemingly of Perinthus or harmony. Like the previous statue base, the idea here is that Philippopolis was worthy of the favor of Thrace and its capital. In the background of performances and meetings of the city's or province's assembly, these two monuments were able to facilitate for their viewers the theater's promotion of a shared civic identity by underscoring the importance of Philippopolis to Thrace's regional network.[66]

Philippopolis' stadium seems to have been as influential as the theater in its capacity to shape its urban landscape by hosting political interactions. Besides these interactions generating senses of hierarchy, sub-community identity, and a unified civic community much like those in the theater, these ideas were also manifested in the same kinds of material forms. Given its larger seating capacity, the stadium is perhaps most different from the theater in that it was able to prompt many more spectators and performers to consider their relationships with one another.

The 1.80 m tall orthostat podium wall at the *cavea*'s base separated spectators from performers during performances. By allowing spectators to look down on performers, the podium wall could have reinforced the idea among the former that the latter were of a lower status because of their humble finances, choice of profession, enslavement, etc. The podium wall also provided spectators, particularly those in the lowest rows, a better viewing angle for activity on the track. In this way the wall facilitated the stadium's capacity to evoke spectators' admiration for performers and thus to counteract the latter's low status. Produced in part because of the public's admiration, the aforementioned monuments to victorious athletes from Philippopolis attest to the stadium subverting the hierarchical status quo in this way.

How performers entered and exited the stadium afforded the same two possibilities. One entrance was the vaulted passageway in the *sphendona* that led to a street running east along the

[66] Sharankov 2005a, 58-61; *Ἡ βουλὴ{ι} καὶ ὁ/ [δῆμ]ος τὸν Περίν-/ [θιον δῆμο]υ τὸν/ ἀ̣δ̣ε̣λ[φὸν τῆς δι-]/ ηνεκοῦς εὐνο[ί-]/ ας καὶ ὁμονοίας/ χάριν/ ἐτείμησεν.*

northern fortification wall, and the other was the main entrance gates at the stadium's southern side. Spectators took their seats from the track via the staircases in the *cavea*'s podium wall, and performers entered the track after the spectators were seated. As in the theater, performers' work together at the stadium in preparation for and during games helped to create a sense of community among them, their support staff, and their loved ones. The monuments from Philippopolis that honor victorious athletes are in part products of the sub-community identity the stadium encouraged among athletes who lived or passed through the city.[67]

How spectators sat in relation to one another in the *cavea* of course also called attention to status distinctions that existed between them and so could further reinforce the existence of a social hierarchy at Philippopolis. As in Thessalonica's theater-stadium, Philippopolis' elites favored seats in the *sphendona* since this was where the VIP box was. Seated here, elites had the best view of performances on the track and were situated quite conspicuously among their city's non-elite inhabitants. In this way, then, the stadium encouraged non-elites to consider an elite class as necessary for the success of Philippopolis and Thrace. As for elites, their tight-knit seating at the stadium's performances provided them opportunities to feel a greater sense of community while driving them to compete with their peers, most noticeably by funding games.

The aforementioned monument to Poplius Virdius Julianus (senior) is one new material actor the stadium helped to contribute to its urban landscape by promoting a sense of hierarchy among audiences. Since Julianus was honored as a game-giver for Pythian games, this monument is in part a material outcome of people's experiences of status distinctions in these contexts. Another elite who met with popular acclaim while presiding over games in the stadium is a man now known only as the son of Sebazianus. A statue honored this *θρᾳκάρχης* and

[67] Martinova-Kyutova 2011, 343; The street behind the stadium's *sphendona* would have been paved similarly to the vaulted passageway, with large irregularly shaped blocks and smaller limestone cobbles.

ἀγωνοθέτης of the provincial assembly in the theater, as its base attest. The games over which he presided are not recorded. That he was the game-giver of the provincial assembly suggests the Alexandrian Pythian Games of 214/5 AD. These are the only interregional games that are known from civic coins to have been funded by the Thracian *κοινόν* at Philippopolis.[68] Once both of these monuments were in the theater's *scaenae frons*, they helped the stadium and theater to inspire public support for local elite euergetism and its backing by imperial authority.[69]

The same potential can be posited for two statues of Pythian Apollo that L. Aurelius Rufus, the son of the *thracarch* Rufus, and the *ephebarch* Mucianus dedicated in the early to mid-3rd century AD. The first statue was displayed at the stadium since its base was found there. As a visual reminder of the invocation of Rufus' office and of his presence during Pythian games in the stadium, this monument was intended to prompt further public support for Rufus and his family.[70] It is unclear where Mucianus' statue was set up, but its similarity to Rufus' suggests it was at the stadium. In dedicating his statue of Apollo, Mucianus sought from his future public appearances further acclaim of the kind he garnered as *ephebarch* at a set of Pythian games. This is the monument that honors Poplius Virdius Julianus as one of two game-givers for a set of Pythian games, in this case the same set. Sharankov posits that these were the Alexandrian

[68] Sharankov 2005a, 63; Vagalinski 2009, 193, Cat. #89; *[- - - - -]γ Ϛεβαζ[ια-]/ [νοῦ θρᾳκάρ]χην καὶ ἀγω-/ νοθέτην τοῦ κοινοῦ/ [τ]ῶν Θρᾳκῶν πενταετηρι-/ κοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀνέστησεν*. That this statue and Julianus' had been set up in the theater confirms that the dramatic and musical events of Philippopolis' Pythian games took place there.

[69] An *ἀγωνοθέτης* of the Kendrisian Pythian games is known from another, similar monument. His name is only preserved as Aurelius, but the *lacuna* at the end of the monument's inscription makes it possible that this was the Aurelius Apollonides noted in the inscription dedicated to Poplius Virdius Julianus. *[Ἀγα]θῇι [τύχηι]./ Τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην/ [τ]ῶν πρώτων Πυθί-/ [ω]ν Κενδρεισιων/ [εἰ]σελαστ[ικῶν]/ [Α]ὐρ(ήλιον) - - -/ - - - - - - - - - - - -* (*IGBulg* III,1 890; Vagalinski 2009, 191, Cat. #82).

[70] *IGBulg* III,1 915; Sharankov 2005a, 66; *Ἀγαθῇι τύχηι./ Λ(ούκιος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ῥοῦφος 'Ρούφου τοῦ/ θρᾳκάρχου τὸν Πύθιον/ τῇ μητροπόλει./ εὐτυχῶς* (0.17 m tall x 0.39 x 0.37).

Pythia of 214/5 AD but admits that the statue's fragmentary inscription allows for them to have been the third (222/3) or fourth (226/7 AD) of Philippopolis' *Pythia*.[71]

Because it refers to Philippopolis as "the metropolis," the statue base dedicated by L. Aurelius Rufus is in part also a product of the stadium's capacity to bolster civic pride among its city's inhabitants. The stadium was able to prompt performers as well as spectators like Rufus to feel a sense of shared civic community. This is attested by the aforementioned monument of the pancratist Dioskourides, on which he explicitly refers to himself as a Philippopolitan (*Φιλιππoπολείτης*). The public space in front of the stadium's main entrance allowed the expansion of interactions among spectators and likely performers at the stadium by providing additional meeting space (Fig. 19). This space, too, should be seen as a product of the stadium fostering civic community since its granite slab pavement makes it a monument to Philippopolis' prosperity in its own right. This monumentality only makes sense if the building whose use the space facilitated was regarded as a source of civic pride.[72]

Then there are the civic coins and medallions that were minted at Philippopolis to be an additional medium for commercial exchange and to advertise the city to whoever used them. The coins minted in the time of Antoninus Pius display the stadium. They therefore signify that the monument was a source of identity for Philippopolis' inhabitants. The coins and medallions that commemorate Philippopolis' Alexandrian and Kendrisian Pythian games imply the same by bearing symbols of the athletic performances that brought crowds to the stadium. In their legends

[71] *IGBulg* III,1 1040; Andreeva 2014, 313, Cat. #II/361; Sharankov 2005a, 64-6; Sharankov has hypothetically restored the inscription thus: *[Ἀγαθ]ῇ [τύχῃ]./ [Μου]κιανὸ[ς . . . . .]-/ [. . .]του ἐφηβ[αρχή-]/ [σας κ]οσμ[ί]ως τ[ῇ πρώ-]/ [τῃ τ]ετρα[ετηρίδι]/ [τοῦ ἱ]εροῦ ἀ[γῶνος Ἀ-/ [πόλ]λωνα ἀ[νέστη-]/ [σα τ]ὸ(ν) Πύθι[ον, ἀγω-]/ [νο]θετού[ντων Πο(πλίου)]/ [Οὐι]ρδίου Ἰου[λια-]/ [νοῦ] καὶ Αὔλου [no-]/ men - -]ΞΡΛ[- - - - - -]/ [. . .]ETH[- - - - - -]/ [. . . . .]ΛΤΟΣ[- - - -].* The other *ἀγωνοθέτης* whose standing Mucianus' monument further promoted is now known only as Aulus, but the monument's inscription allows for his identification as the (son of) Sebazianus. This would support the identification of Julianus' Pythian games as the Alexandrian ones of 214/5 AD.

[72] Ivanov et al. 2006, 85.

they also manifest how civic pride was generated in the stadium around acclamations of Philippopolis' regional status. The legends on the Alexandrian Pythian coins include *KOINONΘPAKΩN* and so capture the pride that came from the Thracian provincial assembly granting Philippopolis special recognition by financing these *Pythia*. On the coins minted for the Kendrisian Pythian games Philippopolis is labelled as a metropolis and *neokoros*. The decorations and legends of these coins were thus intended to bolster the shared civic identity/pride and allegiance to Roman imperial authority that had been strengthened by the celebration of these titles during the Kendrisian *Pythia*.[73]

Philippopolis' *bouleuterium/odeum* accommodated similar political interactions to those in the stadium and theater and so was able to help produce similar new material actors. In terms of the *odeum* reinforcing a social hierarchy, an appearance in the orchestra or on the slightly raised stage separated a performer from audiences (Figs. 85 – 86). Performers also took their places in front of audiences after the latter had taken their seats. Both forms of separation held the potential to highlight performers' lower status. The *odeum*'s small size afforded closer interactions between performers and spectators than Philippopolis' theater and stadium, so the building also had the capacity to encourage a closer rapport between the two. This rapport stood to counteract the hierarchical relationship between performers and spectators to some degree.

As a performance space, the *odeum* could have mediated political interactions among spectators like Philippopolis' theater and stadium. As the discussion of Thessalonica's *odeum* in Chapter 5 suggests, however, little is known for certain about how *odea* across the Roman Empire functioned as entertainment spaces. Thus, it is worthwhile here to briefly continue

[73] Andreeva 2014, 311; Ivanov et al. 2006, 82-3; Kesiakova 1999, 47; Topalilov 2012, 43; Vagalinski 2009, 129; 1994. Images of the coins from Philippopolis that depict the stadium are not published. Perinthus also advertised its various athletic festivals on its civic coinage. The coinage that was minted for Philippopolis' Pythian games should thus be seen as a form of competition between it and its sister city.

exploring, in connection with Philippopolis' *odeum*, the plausible yet unconfirmed scenario that the small size of this kind of entertainment venue and its accommodation of small dramatic performances and recitations of various kinds (e.g. poetic and philosophical) appealed predominantly to elites. In this scenario, the *odeum*'s audiences would have been more homogenous than those in the theater and stadium with regard to factors like wealth, profession, and legal standing. Thus, performances in the *odeum* would have provided opportunities for Philippopolis' elites to feel more connected as a sub-community but also more aware of their wealth and status distinctions, thus fueling elite competition.

These were certainly the effects that the *odeum*'s accommodation of city council meetings made possible. Furthermore, any particular elite's successful "performance" as a speaker in the orchestra at council meetings had the potential both to accord him greater renown among his peers, perhaps more than his office alone afforded, and to further unite the wills of his fellow elites. Poplius Virdius Julianus Junior was one such elite since his tribe honored him with a monument for his skill as an orator and not for holding local office. His monument, then, is in part an outcome of the *odeum*'s promotion both of a sense of hierarchy and of a shared identity among audience members, in this case elites who belonged to the Eumolpian tribe.

Consideration of these ideas during council meetings in the *odeum* also contributed to the production of all the aforementioned monuments that commemorate games in the theater and stadium and the elites who patronized them. Both these games and their monuments required formal decrees of the council. In meeting to formulate these decrees, city councilors contemplated who they were as a community and how they could rise in the esteem of their peers and non-elites. Such reflection in the context of performances in the *odeum* would have

strengthened the resolve of Philippopolis' elites to promote themselves, their fellow elites, and their city's regional status through games and honorific monuments in the theater and stadium.

The *odeum* was also able to inspire a greater sense of belonging to a civic community among those who used it, particularly if these people were elites who had developed legislation for all of Philippopolis' people at a council meeting. Because of their close spatial relationship with the *odeum* and their administrative functions, the library and treasury are material outcomes of the *odeum*'s promotion of civic pride. With the colonnaded square west of the *odeum*, both buildings convey this pride as visibly striking monuments to Philippopolis' prosperity. The library and treasury also encouraged civic pride through their functions. If the library was an archive for the *boule*'s decrees, which is likely given its proximity to the *odeum*, it would have inspired civic pride by fueling both the cultural sophistication of its city's inhabitants and the stability of the city's administration. By storing Philippopolis' tax income and imperial funds, the treasury was able to evoke civic pride by supporting the funding of pursuits such as public entertainments, the dedication of honorific monuments, and the renovation of public spaces.

The Religious Function of Philippopolis' Entertainment Venues

As was already intimated for several monuments, Philippopolis' theater and stadium were also able to shape their urban landscapes by hosting religious interactions. The same was likely true for the *odeum*, but no monuments or artifacts can readily be identified as evidence for how invocations of deities in the *odeum* shaped people's thoughts on the divine. As for the theater, the *phylae* inscriptions are the best evidence for the deities whose worship the structure most likely bolstered by accommodating invocations and images of them at performances. These deities thus most likely included Herakles, Dionysos, Artemis, Orpheus, and Asklepios.

Since T. Flavius Kotys' statue base notes that he was the priest of Asklepios, perhaps this god was invoked in the games he most likely organized in the theater. Similarly, since the Flavius Montanus on the *invitatio* from Philippopolis was a priest of Olympian Zeus, Zeus was at least invoked in his games in the theater. It was already noted that the imperial cult was promoted in the games offered by its priests Montanus, P. Hadrianus Sallustius, and T. Flavius Priscianus. All the deities people encountered in the theater were invoked as guarantors of Philippopolis' prosperity. Thus, inspired by the games that represented this promise, spectators and performers likely made dedications after they left the theater to ensure these gods' favor.[74]

Herakles, Hermes, and Apollo were commonly invoked in the stadium. The first two are represented on five decorative pilasters that stood at the sides of the archways in the stadium's main entrance. Three sides of these pilasters show a bust of Hermes with a prize amphora and victory palm. The five pilasters' other sides show Herakles' bow and quiver over the hero's lion pelt, which is draped over his club (Fig. 96). Judging from the amphora and palm branch associated with Hermes, he and Herakles were invoked in the stadium because the former's speed and the latter's strength and courage made them ideal patrons for athletes. The stadium thus promoted the idea that the worship of these gods guaranteed that athletes performed to the best of their abilities and so the success of Philippopolis' athletic festivals. The stadium thereby also conveyed that these gods' intervention was beneficial for the city's prosperity overall.[75]

Apollo was certainly invoked in the stadium in Philippopolis' Alexandrian and Kendrisian Pythian games. The idea of these invocations was that his worship guaranteed the

[74] Votive tablets with reliefs of and inscriptions to these gods were likely a common form of such dedications. Several examples of these votive tablets are recorded in *IGBulg* III,1: Herakles (946, 971), Dionysos (931, 957), Artemis (944), Asklepios (934, 945, 964, 967), Zeus (949-50, 965-6).

[75] Ivanov et al. 2006, 82; Kesiakova 1999, 16; Topalilov 2012, 42; Vagalinski 2009, 205, Cat. # 124; Welch 1998, 551.

prosperity and time for leisure that the athletic, dramatic, and musical events in his honor exemplified. Some of the coins minted for Philippopolis' Kendrisian *Pythia* that show Apollo on the obverse certainly suggest this idea. It is also implied by the aforementioned statues of Apollo dedicated by Mucianus the *ephebarch* and L. Aurelius Rufus.

Two other such monuments that were dedicated to Kendrisian Apollo in the first half of the 3rd century AD are also material outcomes of the stadium's promotion of Apollo's worship as beneficial to Philippopolis' prosperity through interregional Pythian games. One of these dedications survives as a statue base found at the stadium near that of Rufus' statue of Apollo. Beithos Kotys, a priest of the Syrian goddess, dedicated this statue to Kendrisian Apollo; this priesthood makes it quite likely that Beithos had attended the Kendrisian *Pythia*.[76] Another Kendrisian Apollo was dedicated at Philippopolis on a funerary monument to a man from Apamea named Maximus. The statue's inscription boasts that Maximus was "beloved by Thrace and the world." The choice of deity for the monument and the fact that Maximus does not have an administrative title could mean that he was an athlete who was inspired to devote himself to Apollo because he felt the god had guaranteed him success in Philippopolis' Kendrisian *Pythia*.[77]

The Economic Function of Philippopolis' Entertainment Venues

All the monuments that were commissioned, coins that were minted, and consumer goods that were made or sold at Philippopolis because of the cultural, political, and religious interactions hosted by the city's public entertainment venues are also products of economic

[76] *IGBulg* III,1 918; This marble base is 0.32 m tall and 0.18 m wide and thick. Its inscription reads: *Ἀπόλλωνι/ Κενδρισῳ Βειθυς/ Κοτυος ἱερεὺς/ Συρίας θεᾶς/ δῶρον ἀνέ-/ θηκεν.*

[77] Minchev 2019, 212; Vagalinski 2009, 200-1, Cat. #103 (0.79 x 0.42 x 0.32 m); *Μάξιμος ἐνθάδε κεῖ-/ μαι Ἀπαμείας ὁ πολείτης/ Θρήκῃ καὶ κόσμῳ πεφιλημέ-/ νος. – Πὰρ δέ οἱ Ἀπόλλωνος // ἐγὼ κεῖμαι Κενδρεισοῖο./ - Χερσὶν ἐμοῦ τέκνου Μαξίμου,/ ὅς με ἐκόσμει καί με ἔθαψε ἐτῶν τρὶς εἴκοσι καὶ δεκάδα* (Here I lie, Maximus a citizen of Apamea, beloved by Thrace and the world. I lie beside Kendrisian Apollo. [This was written] with the hands of my son Maximus, who prepared me [for the grave] and buried me, who lived to the age of 70).

interactions these structures promoted. All these monuments and artifacts attest to how people's experiences in the theater, stadium, and *odeum* at times fueled an intent to distill these experiences into material forms. In encounters with these new material actors, people could then remember the way they felt during their experiences in Philippopolis' entertainment venues and interact with each other in similar or new ways over these sentiments.

Consumer goods that were bought during public festivals were able to expand people's interactions with one another at the time of performances. For example, the purchase of a lamp decorated with a gladiatorial scene like the one mentioned above was able to spur further conversation between spectators about a day's performances. Few shops that can attest to economic interactions at the theater, stadium, and *odeum* are known from their surroundings. Performances in the nearby *odeum* and stadium were quite capable of encouraging commercial exchange at the agora's shops. It is also quite likely that vendors set up stalls in front of the stadium's main entrance during athletic festivals.

As was noted above, renovations in the late 3rd – early 4th century AD fixed damage that Philippopolis' theater, stadium, and *odeum* may have received in part thanks to Gothic attacks on their city in the mid-3rd century AD. Afterwards they continued to be hubs for cultural, political, religious, and economic activity until the late 4th century AD. The theater seems to have been destroyed at this time either in a fire or earthquake. A similar fate has been suggested for the stadium, but there is no evidence for this. The agora was not abandoned until the mid-5th century AD. However, the construction of houses in it around the beginning of that century suggests that use of the *odeum* had waned significantly by the late 4th century AD.[78]

[78] Ivanov et al. 2004, 293-4; Topalilov 2012, 12, 27, 36, 46.

Since Philippopolis hosted the Christian ecumenical council that countered the official one at Serdica in 343 AD, it is thought that the theater accommodated this counter-council. This would mean that theater, and likely the stadium and *odeum*, had begun to play a role in spreading the Christian faith and bolstering Christian leaders' political influence at Philippopolis over the first half of the 4th century AD. This in turn suggests that the theater became a focus in its city for interactions that were drastically reshaping what Roman urbanism meant in Thrace, Macedonia, and across the Empire. It is still unclear what happened to Philippopolis' theater, stadium, and *odeum* after they stopped hosting entertainments, but there is evidence to suggest that even as ruins they shaped what urban life entailed in Late Antique Philippopolis and Thrace.[79]

In sum, a variety of artifactual and structural evidence from Philippopolis and its hinterland demonstrate and suggest ways by which Philippopolis' theater, stadium, and *odeum* informed the human, ideological, and material aspects of urban life at Thrace's preeminent inland urban center. The outcomes of the multifunctional mediation of Philippopolis' entertainment venues and these structures' forms bear many similarities to the shaping effects and architecture of the same kinds of entertainment venues in Macedonia. These similarities show the interconnectedness of Macedonia and Thrace as regional urban networks. They also reinforce that connections with communities in nearby and farther regions of the Roman Empire greatly informed urban life across both provinces (and then dioceses) in the late 1st – early 4th century AD. The above discussion still attests, however, that the architectural forms of Philippopolis' entertainment venues and the results of their participation in the interactions they hosted represent local diversity. In other words, Philippopolis' theater, stadium, and *odeum* helped to promote a sense of urbanism that was local, regional, and imperial all at once.

[79] Topalilov 2012, 11, 36.

This chapter's discussion next turns to Diocletianopolis and its amphitheater. In comparison to Philippopolis, Diocletianopolis poses a significantly different model of urbanization in central Thrace between the late 1st and early 4th century AD. The site was a small town during most of this time and only became what can be classified as a city in the late 3rd – early 4th century AD. Like the earlier construction of the theater and stadium at Philippopolis, the introduction of an amphitheater to Dioclietianopolis in the late 3rd century AD and the building's involvement in urban life into the next century attests to the high value of entertainment venues in Thrace as monuments to and drivers of advanced urbanization.

The Amphitheater at Diocletianopolis

The Form and Dating of Diocletianopolis' Amphitheater

An amphitheater was built at Diocletianopolis in the late 3rd century AD as a reflection of that town's development into a city by this time. The site was renamed during Diocletian's travel through Thrace (293 – 305 AD). The new public spaces that were added to the town in the late 3rd – early 4th century AD thus likely benefited from imperial funding. In support of this possibility is a dedication to Galerius and Licinius (308 AD) over a doorway of a new bath building 250 m east of the city. Four other intramural baths were built in the same urbanization horizon, which further hints that the city received funds from the imperial purse. The construction of all these baths indicates that the site was still known for its mineral waters across Thrace in the 4th century AD. The largest bath (c. 3,000 m^2) was built in the late 3rd century AD over springs near the city's center and 50 m northeast of the amphitheater (Fig. 21, #12).[80]

[80] Dinchev 2001, 226; Dodge 2009, 33, 37; Madjarov 2012, 444-5, 447, 452-3, 456-7; 1993, 22, 24, 61, 121; Velkov 1977, 24, 129; See Ivanov 1988 for discussion of the inscription over the door of the eastern baths (*D(ominorum) N(ostorum) (duorum) Maximiani et Licini(i) Aug(ustorum) (duorum) et Maximini et Constantini filior(um) [Aug(ustorum aed]ificatum*). Diocletianopolis' large baths continue to be excavated today, but the excavations that revealed a large part of them were published by D. Tsonchev in 1937 (Хисарските бани (с. Хисаря, Карловско). Географски, исторически и археологически очерк. – ГПНБМ, 1935-1936.)

Diocletianopolis' amphitheater was built around the same time. It is situated at the base of a hill at the city's southwestern side (Fig. 21, #13). It was somewhat unconventional in form like the amphitheaters at Serdica and Augusta Traiana. The egg-shaped arena was 38.60 m long and 23.50 m wide at its middle (Figs. 97 – 98), and a limestone and mortar wall 2.80 m tall surrounded it.[81] The arena's two main entrances are on its long axis and were originally vaulted. The southern entrance corridor (4.40 m wide and 6.30 m long), which was entered through a 3 m wide doorway, had a 1.14 m wide entrance into the arena. Judging from holes in its threshold, this entrance was closed vertically with a gate. The northern corridor (4.70 x 6.50 m) was closed with double doors at its exterior end but communicated with the arena through four openings that were closed vertically, as holes in their thresholds and grooves in their jambs attest. The central opening is 1.15 m wide like the entrance at the arena's southern end, and the other openings are 0.60 m wide. These four openings were configured to introduce animals into the arena.[82]

There were two smaller entrances in the arena's eastern side (Fig. 97). The central one was 1.40 m wide and closed vertically. A long narrow room (9 m long, 4.50 m wide at its northern end, 3.20 m wide at its southern one) preceded the entrance. This room had another 1.40 m wide entrance in its eastern side. The other southeastern entrance in the arena wall was 1.20 m wide; a small room preceded it. As Constantin Madjarov notes, both rooms are configured and sited to have been preparation spaces for performers like gladiators and animal hunters.[83]

There is no evidence that seating existed between the entrances on the amphitheater's eastern side. Thus, like at Serdica and Augusta Traiana's amphitheaters, there was only seating

[81] Dodge 2009, 33; Ivanov et al. 2004, 84; Madjarov 2012, 457; 1993, 121, 123; Vagalinski 2009, 73-4; The arena's surface was 0.30 m lower than the arena's entrances, and the layer of sand that covered it was 0.10 m thick.

[82] Madjarov 1993, 121-2; The use of the northern entrance to admit animals into the arena received additional support in the form of a boar's tusk that was found at the northern end of the corridor preceding the entrance.

[83] Madjarov 1993, 123.

on the western side of Diocletianopolis' amphitheater. No stone seats were found, so the seats were wooden benches. The single-tiered *cavea* was set on both sides of a central trapezoidal room that had a vertically closeable entrance (1.15 m wide) in the arena wall. This room communicated with the seating through staircases (0.85 m wide) in its north and south sides (Fig. 97). Another enclosed space to the south seemingly provided support for seats since it was not accessible. Diocletianopolis' amphitheater was thus structurally irregular and simple. It still had all the necessary components for effectively hosting gladiatorial games and animal hunts for a fairly sizeable crowd (a few hundred) of inhabitants of and visitors to its city. Its construction emphasizes Diocletianopolis' rapid expansion in the late 3rd – early 4th century AD into the third largest city in the Late Antique province of Thrace, behind Philippopolis and Augusta Traiana.[84]

Marcianopolis' amphitheater presents a structural contrast to that at Diocletianopolis. It too was most likely built in the urbanization horizon of the late 3rd – early 4th century AD, but its date is debated. The use of *opus mixtum* and mortar containing crushed ceramics support the late 3rd century AD, as T. Petrov and G. Toncheva contend. Others like Vagalinski prefer the late 2nd or beginning of the 3rd century AD since inscriptions attests to gladiatorial games at Marcianopolis at this time. It is quite possible, however, that gladiatorial games were hosted in another structure before the amphitheater was built, as at Augusta Traiana. A late 3rd century AD construction date is more widely accepted and fits the occasion of Marcianopolis becoming Moesia Secunda's capital (Fig. 5). This date also makes the amphitheater contemporary with the formally similar ones at Diocletianopolis, Serdica, and Augusta Traiana.[85]

[84] Dodge 2009, 33; Madjarov 2012, 445; 1993, 122-3; Vagalinski 2009, 74; Madjarov does not provide an estimate for the number of people the amphitheater's *cavea* could sit.

[85] Angelov 1999, 4, 7-9, 20, 26; Dinchev 2001, 224; Dodge 2009, 33; Ivanov et al. 2006, 83; Vagalinski 2009, 73; Publications on the sporadic excavations at Marcianopolis over the course of the 1950s – 80s are few. Anastas Angelov, the leading authority on the site, provides an overview of these excavations (1999, 7). The funerary monuments of the gladiators Smaragdus (*IGBulg* II,1 816; V 5349; Vagalinski 2009, 157, Cat. #23) and Marcianus,

Marcianopolis' amphitheater is at the northern end of its city near the fortification wall. Its substructure remains reveal that it had a roughly-shaped elliptical arena (46.80 x 39.80 m). There were two main entrances into the arena at the northern and southern ends of its long axis (Fig. 99). At the front of the third room east of the northern entrance corridor is a small opening flanked by stone blocks; vertical grooves in them indicate that a door or metal grill was lowered to close the opening. This small opening could thus bring animals into the arena, like similar openings in Diocletianopolis' amphitheater. This may have been the purpose of some of the other ten breaks set periodically around the arena's wall. Larger breaks like the first one west of the northern entrance corridor may have been used by gladiators and animal hunters or perhaps for storage. Some of these breaks, like that in the arena wall at the second substructure room east of northern entrance corridor, likely mark staircases (Figs. 99 – 101).[86]

Marcianopolis' amphitheater was bigger than Diocletianopolis' but smaller than Serdica's. Unlike these amphitheaters and that at Augusta Traiana, there appears to have been a tier of seating on both sides of the arena. Seating blocks were found scattered over the *cavea*'s western half. A jumble of seats was also found over the second and third substructure rooms east of the northern entrance corridor (Figs. 100 – 101). It is estimated that the amphitheater's seating had twelve rows of seats that could accommodate c. 4,000 spectators.[87]

Architectural, artefactual, and epigraphic evidence for how Diocletianopolis' amphitheater shaped its urban landscape by accommodating cultural, political, religious, and

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who went by the stage-name Polyneikes (Andreeva 2014, 338, Cat. #II/394; Vagalinski 2009, 157, Cat. #24), are examples of the inscriptional evidence for gladiatorial games at Marcianopolis in the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD.

[86] Golvin 1988, Cat. #140; Ivanov et al. 2006, 83; Two staircase blocks are preserved in-situ at the break in the arena wall at the second substructure rooms east of the northern entrance corridor. Wilmott and Garner (2009, 65) note that Marcianopolis' amphitheater looks similar to that at Chester.

[87] Angelov 1999, 19-20, 26, 29; Golvin 1988, Cat. #140; Ivanov et al. 2006, 83; Vagalinski 2009, 72-3; The external dimensions of the amphitheater were 65.30 x 58.80 m.

economic interactions is slim. For this reason, such evidence that is available for Marcianopolis' amphitheater is introduced to suggest additional ways by which Diocletianopolis' amphitheater informed urban life in its city. Serdica and Augusta Traiana's amphitheaters (Chapter Seven) provide other parallels for how the amphitheater at Diocletianopolis participated in urban life.

The Cultural Function of Diocletianopolis' Amphitheater

Diocletianopolis' amphitheater primarily hosted gladiatorial battles and animal hunts. Despite the simplicity of its design and likely decoration, it still provoked spectators' excitement with its tall arena wall, the four gates for animals at the arena's northern end, and the entrances for performers in the arena's eastern side (Fig. 97). Moreover, given the arena wall's height and despite the covered stairwell in the middle of the *cavea*, spectators in the stands on the amphitheater's western side would have had a clear view of performances. Thus, the amphitheater's architecture would have sufficiently prepared spectators to glean cultural values from the qualities and themes acted out by gladiators and animal hunters.

The restorative capacity of leisure was one idea the amphitheater prompted spectators to value as important to urban life. More specifically, the amphitheater's close proximity to Diocletianopolis' central bath complex strongly suggests that the local elites who financed its construction, perhaps aided by the imperial treasury, did so in order that it would induce more people to pursue leisure in these baths. Frequent finds of tablets dedicated to the Three Graces – recognizable symbols of ideas like beauty, peace, and prosperity across the Roman Empire – reinforce that the pursuit of recreation at the city's mineral waters was a significant driver of urban life there. Spectators in the amphitheater's *cavea* were even positioned to have a good view of the central baths. Presented with this view and invigorated by their collective experience of gladiatorial battles and animal hunts, spectators would have been encouraged to (re)visit the

baths, as in the case of Dion's *odeum*. Thus, by promoting leisure, the amphitheater was able to fuel interactions at its city's baths and so attract more people to visit Diocletianopolis.[88]

One find from Diocletianopolis that bears images related to the performances the amphitheater hosted is a limestone relief fragment that was found c. 50 m south of the building. It shows two animal hunters dressed in tunics and thrusting spears to the left (Fig. 102). The fragment's small size (0.23 m long x 0.175 m wide x 0.08 m thick) means it was most likely part of an *invitatio* for animal hunts. The relief's provenance suggests this invitation was posted along the street leading to the amphitheater from the south (Fig. 21). The two animal hunters show that the rest of the relief was designed to be action-packed with images of animals and other hunters. The relief thus demonstrates the amphitheater's capacity to promote animal hunts as worthwhile because they led Diocletianopolis' inhabitants and visitors to consider certain ideas. For example, how the two animal hunters are presented – the top one seemingly leaping forward and the lower one standing solidly with his spear ready – suggests that the monument encouraged viewers to admire these performers for their courage and martial skill.[89]

The Political Function of Diocletianopolis' Amphitheater

As a space for political interactions, Diocletianopolis' amphitheater was able to promote a sense of hierarchy, sub-community identity, and civic pride. With regard to the amphitheater reinforcing a hierarchy, the podium wall around the arena imposed a separation between spectators and performers that was able to highlight the former's relatively lower social status. By framing performers' displays of their talents, however, the wall was also able to facilitate the formation of admiration among spectators that countered sentiments of superiority. How

[88] Madjarov 2012, 457, 460.

[89] Madjarov 1993, 123, Fig. 124; Vagalinski 2009, 74, 203, Cat. #116; These are the dimensions noted in Madjarov 1993. Vagalinski provides the conflicting measurements of 0.0245 x 0.175 x 0.09 m).

spectators and performers entered the amphitheater most likely had the same two effects. Madjarov proposes that spectators accessed the *cavea* from the rear.[90] While possible, given the lack of knowledge about this area it also seems likely that spectators entered the arena through its wide entrance corridors. They then would have reached their seats via the stairwell in the *cavea*. Performers afterwards would have moved into position at the arena's entrances.

The amphitheater was also able to foster senses of community among performers in the arena and spectators in the *cavea*. With its one-sided seating area, purpose-built entrance for animal hunts, and the two rooms for performance preparation on its eastern side, the amphitheater was like a theater in how it provided performers their own space to come together as a community during festivals. For spectators, the amphitheater's *cavea* was a place where various sub-community identities were created or affirmed, although nothing like seat inscriptions has been found to indicate specifically what kind of groups sat together.

Although the stairwell in the middle of the *cavea* disrupted spectators' views of one another, the *cavea* was still able to reinforce a social hierarchy among audiences. The seats set over and closest to the arena's southern entrance were those with the best view. This consideration and the thickness of this entrance's walls are what led Madjarov to suggest quite plausibly that there was a VIP box (*pulvinar*) over this entrance. A fragment of an inscribed block found among the jumble of seats west of the northern entrance of Marcianopolis' amphitheater also supports this idea. This inscription reveals that the "most illustrious" (*λαμπρότατος*) Alexander had a reserved seat in this area of the *cavea*. Thus, VIPs sat around the northern entrance of Marcianopolis' amphitheater, if not also in a box over the entrance.[91] A

[90] Madjarov 1993, 123.

[91] Madjarov 1993, 122; Vagalinski 2009, 73; The box in the *sphendona* of Philippopolis' stadium, and the likelihood that other elites sat around it, parallels this scenario in Diocletianopolis and Marcianopolis' amphitheaters.

pulvinar in Diocletianopolis' amphitheater and elite seating in the *cavea*'s front rows would have promoted a sense of sub-community among resident elites. Both were simultaneously able to highlight status distinctions among elites and between them and the non-elites who sat in the higher rows. The same also holds true for Marcianopolis' amphitheater.

The amphitheater's capacity to build community among Diocletianopolis' elites and to bolster certain elites' popularity through appearances at and presiding over games was most likely partly why an elite residence was built down the street to the south in the early 4th century AD (Fig. 21, #16). Besides this courtyard house's close proximity to the amphitheater, its large size – it is about as large as the amphitheater – means that the house's owner was one of Diocletianopolis' leading citizens. It is reasonable to suppose, then, that this elite availed himself of the opportunity to receive public attention in the context of the amphitheater's performances in order to maintain his high status in the eyes of his peers and his city's non-elite inhabitants.[92]

The amphitheater was able to occasion a sense of unified civic community among spectators and performers at the same time as it showcased Diocletianopolis' elites. Collective effervescence at performances and the act of diverse spectators entering the *cavea* together enabled this capacity. Moreover, while structurally simple, the amphitheater was still a monument to its city's prosperity. One way the amphitheater shaped its surroundings by provoking civic pride was by occasioning the renovation of surrounding streets. One such street led from the *cardo maximus* to the central baths' southern entrance and the amphitheater's eastern side. It was likely widened and repaved due to these two structures' popularity.[93] Perhaps squares capable of holding large crowds were also installed at both ends of the amphitheater.

[92] Madjarov 2012, 458-9, Fig. 23; 1993, 143-6, 182-3, Figs. 156-7.

[93] Madjarov 2012, 452; Madjarov even argues that the first southern gate in Diocletianopolis' fortification wall was at its southwestern corner (Fig. 22, #4) so that people could smoothly access the "centre for public and cultural life

The Religious Function of Diocletianopolis' Amphitheater

One clue to the religious interactions the amphitheater hosted is a niche in the northern end of the southern entrance corridor's eastern wall (1.10 m tall, 0.60 m wide, and 0.30 m above the ground). Madjarov proposes that this niche held a statue of Nemesis, which is possible given her association with gladiatorial games and animal hunts and her image's presence near entrances of entertainment venues across the Empire, like the theaters at Philippi and Thasos.[94] If Nemesis had a shrine in the amphitheater's southern entrance, it could have prompted the performers and spectators who used this entrance to consider how the goddess aided them and their city. The amphitheater thus could have inspired worship of the goddess and dedications to her so she would protect Diocletianopolis' good fortune or ensure retribution if enemies interrupted that fortune. Gladiators and animal hunters were likely quite responsive to the idea of Nemesis' intervention on a personal level given the danger they faced in the arena.

The Economic Function of Diocletianopolis' Amphitheater

There were likewise few finds from the amphitheater's excavations that suggest the economic interactions it hosted and facilitated nearby. These finds consist of ceramic vessel fragments (Madjarov does not specify what kinds) and two poorly preserved coins (4th century AD). Such finds are consistent with the scenario that visits to the amphitheater generally prompted spectators to buy inexpensive items from vendors who set up shop nearby. As was noted in connection with the theater at Philippi, this scenario is plausible because of comparable

in Diocletianopolis" that was the area of the central baths and amphitheater. Possible trajectories for the two main streets that met at the amphitheater and baths are indicated in Fig. 22. There would have been a street between the two buildings. It seems that the baths were wider to the west, so this ancient street was likely not wide (c. 2 m).

[94] Madjarov 1993, 122; Wilmott and Garner (2009, 69) also note that a small stone structure near the north entrance of the amphitheater at Chester (Britain) may have originally held an altar of Nemesis that was relocated to the arena. Wilmott (2009, 144) notes the presence of a *Nemeseum* at the northern entrance of Caerleon's amphitheater, too.

small find material from around these and other such structures elsewhere in the Roman Empire (e.g. the amphitheater at Chester) and because of literary evidence for fairs organized on the occasion of public festivals at Rome. People's pursuit of leisure at the amphitheater and central baths likely prompted a fair number of craftsmen, merchants, and food vendors to set up shop in this quarter of the city. The amphitheater thus would have played a role in prompting the local production of some consumer goods and the importation of others.[95]

Madjarov does not propose a date for the end of performances in the amphitheater but does hold that the southern section of Diocletianopolis' fortifications was renovated after a Gothic raid in 376-8 AD. He thus implies that performances ceased around this time, either because the building was damaged or because the finances of Diocletianopolis' elites had to be directed elsewhere.[96] Based on this study's other entertainment venues, Diocletianopolis' amphitheater likely no longer hosted games by the end of the 4th century AD. There is no documented archaeological evidence for activity around the amphitheater after this century. How the building's ruins shaped their surroundings in the 5th – 6th century AD is thus unclear.

Ongoing excavations are slowly leading archaeologists at Diocletianopolis to gain a better sense of the town's development from the late 1st to early 4th century AD. The amphitheater and nearby central baths still stand out as monumental indicators of the site's growing complexity as an interactive hub in central Thrace over the course of the 3rd century AD. Moreover, these two buildings and the other roughly contemporary baths built at

[95] Holleran 2102, 189-92; Madjarov 1993, 122; Urbanus 2017; Wilmott and Garner 2009, 68-9; More excavations around the amphitheater and central baths are needed to determine where nearby shops may have been, but a good candidate is the southern side of the street leading to the *cardo maximus*.

[96] Madjarov 1993, 61-2; Vagalinski 2009, 74.

Diocletianopolis attest that, like Dion in Macedonia, the site owed much of its local urban expansion and regional renown to the restorative properties of its mineral springs.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed entertainment venues at two quite different urban centers in Roman Thrace. Philippopolis was one of the largest and oldest urban centers in Thrace while Diocletianopolis was one of the region's smaller cities that saw the greatest expansion of its cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions in the 3rd and 4th century AD. These sites' entertainment venues were also quite different in kind and quality. Philippopolis' theater, *odeum*, and stadium boasted fine construction materials and visually striking settings, but Diocletianopolis' amphitheater, while large, was relatively simple in form and decoration.

The forms of Philippopolis and Diocletianopolis' entertainment venues reflect the local distinctiveness of these cities. At the same time, these structures promoted the expansion of the multivalent interactions that sustained these distinct local urban networks through the same set of functions. As the evidence in this chapter supports, the efficiency with which entertainment venues helped to construct locally diverse yet regionally and interregionally connected senses of urbanism made them highly desired public buildings for cities in Thrace. To more fully explore how public entertainment venues promoted complex urban life in Thrace through their cultural, political, religious, and economic functions, Chapter Seven turns to the examples of the theater, *odeum*, and amphitheater at Serdica and the theater and amphitheater at Augusta Traiana.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE THEATERS, *ODEUM*, AND AMPHITHEATERS AT SERDICA AND AUGUSTA TRAIANA AS URBAN NETWORK ACTORS IN ROMAN THRACE (LATE 1ST – 4TH CENTURY AD)

Introduction

This chapter expands Chapter Six's exploration of how Thrace's public entertainment venues shaped their urban landscapes in the late 1st – early 4th century AD by helping to contribute new material actors (consumer goods, civic and funerary monuments, structures, and built spaces) to the variety of interactions that sustained these landscapes. This chapter addresses how the theater, *odeum*, and amphitheater at Serdica and the theater and amphitheater at Augusta Traiana did this through the cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions they hosted and in which they participated. As in Chapter Six, this chapter first chronologically outlines the architectural development of the entertainment venues at Serdica and Augusta Traiana before turning to an analysis of their multifunctional mediation.

Serdica gained its first public entertainment venue, a theater, in the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD urbanization horizon. This structure is known only from remnants of its scene building's foundations. There was most likely a theater at the northern end of Augusta Traiana by around the same time, the third quarter of the 2nd century AD. As was already noted in the introduction to Chapter Six, remains of the building have not been found. Plentiful artifacts and civic and funerary monuments found at the site and in its hinterland, however, reference gladiatorial games and animal hunts at some entertainment venue at the site in the later 2nd and early 3rd century AD. This entertainment venue was most likely a theater and not an amphitheater since Thracians were long familiar with theaters at Greek colonies in Thrace by the 2nd century

AD. Additionally, there is currently no certain evidence from other sites in Thrace for amphitheaters by this middle of this century. Future excavations around Stara Zagora may one day elucidate the nature of Augusta Traiana's first public entertainment venue.

Like at Diocletianopolis and Marcianopolis, the construction of amphitheaters at Serdica and Augusta Traiana in the late 3rd century AD signaled the renewal of their urban landscapes and regional prominence. The construction of Serdica's amphitheater coincided with the expansion of the city's *bouleuterium* into an *odeum*. Both building projects were among others that served to punctuate Serdica's rise in regional prominence through its selection as the capital of the Late Antique diocese of Dacia (Fig. 5). Augusta Traiana's amphitheater was different than those at Serdica, Diocletianopolis, and Marcianopolis because it was an adapted square inside the city's southwestern gate. Several monuments and structures discovered near and down the street from the amphitheater suggest that this makeshift entertainment venue participated in Augusta Traiana's cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions as effectively as the architecturally more formal amphitheater at Serdica.

The Theater, *Odeum*, and Amphitheater at Serdica

The Form and Dating of Serdica's Entertainment Venues

The first public entertainment venue at Serdica was the theater, which was built during the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD urbanization horizon and so nearly a century after the theaters at Philippopolis, Thessalonica, Stobi, Heraclea Lyncestis, and Philippi. By this time Serdica looked quite different than it had in the early 2nd century AD. For example, between 176 and 180 AD the city gained a fortification wall with circular corner towers and triangular ones along its sides (Fig. 20). The wall's construction occasioned a renovation of the city's street system. New buildings set into the revamped street system included a large rectangular building at Serdica's

center near the *bouleuterium* and the supposed location of the agora (Fig. 20, #16). This building has been identified as a *praetorium*/*praesidium* but was perhaps a bath instead.[1]

Serdica's theater was located outside the city's walls c. 300 m from the eastern gate. Little remains of the theater since it was levelled to its foundations for the construction of Serdica's amphitheater (see below), the arena of which was set c. 5.6 m above the theater's remains. The excavator of both buildings Jarin Velichkov dates the theater's construction to the late 2nd or early 3rd century AD based on coins finds. The earliest are bronze issues that were minted at Nicaea in Bithynia in Caracalla's reign. Coins found in the fill between the theater and amphitheater also date the theater's destruction in the third quarter of 3rd century AD. These *Antoniniani* include ones minted in the reigns of Gordion III (238 – 244) and Probus (276 – 282 AD) but are most commonly from the reigns of Gallienus, Claudius II, and Aurelian (260 – 276 AD). Given that the theater was outside the city's walls, it is quite probable that it received damage in Gothic raids of Thrace and Macedonia in the third quarter of the 3rd century AD. This, then, provides a motive for the levelling of its ruins soon afterwards.[2]

One part of the theater's ruins is a long section of curvilinear wall (7 m long and 0.70 m wide) backed by five short walls (2.3 m long and 0.55 m wide; Fig. 103). Velichkov holds that the longer wall marks the edge of the *cavea* and that the shorter ones mark its radial vaults. This scenario is likely since the space in front of the long wall was paved with tightly packed small river stones and sand, as one would expect in an orchestra. Remains of burned wooden beams and the absence of stone seats suggest a wooden *cavea*. Velichkov interprets the room attached

[1] Kirova 2012, 200, 204-5, 211, 214, 216; The date of the wall's construction is known from two architrave inscriptions found at the northern and eastern gates that are dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. The interior of the large rectangular building held halls with semicircular and rectangular niches and hypocaust systems.

[2] Dodge 2009, 33; Kirova 2012, 203, 233; Minchev 2019, 208-9; Velichkov 2011, 311; 2010, 354; 2009a, 123-4; 2009b, 53, 57.

to the curvilinear wall as a *parascaenium*. This would mean that the wall remains on this room's eastern side mark the front wall of the *scaena* or of a *proscaenium*.[3] Little more can be said about Serdica's theater besides that its meager remains suggest a Roman-style theater in which the scene building was just as wide as and connected to the *cavea*. Italian architectural trends in the theater fits Mario Ivanov's plausible hypothesis that legionary veterans from the Roman Empire's western provinces played a seminal role in constructing urban life at Serdica.

Serdica's amphitheater, then, was built on top of the levelled remains of the theater between the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th century AD. By this time Serdica was the capital of the new province of Dacia Mediterranea. As in the case of Philippopolis, the amphitheater was not the only building project undertaken in the late 3rd – early 4th century AD in honor of Serdica's new regional status. The fortification wall was made taller and wider and gained additional circular towers at this time as well (Fig. 20). In the time of Constantine, new fortifications were built north of the existing ones to enclose a little-known but large new city quarter. New public buildings and large houses were also built in the city's southeastern corner. The large scale of these projects, Constantine's purported love of Serdica, and his sporadic stays in the city (316-17, 322-3, 328-30), make it is possible that he contributed funds to Serdica's expansion.[4] The amphitheater's construction in particular demonstrates that Serdica was intended to be – and was already a complex enough urban landscape to function as – the preeminent city in the new province of Dacia Mediterannea and the new Diocese of Dacia.

[3] Kirova 2012, 236; Minchev 2019, 208-9; Velichkov 2011, 311; 2010, 353; 2009a, 123-4; 2009b, 52-3; 2007, 254-5; The foundations of all these walls are limestone blocks and white mortar while their superstructure is brick and the same mortar.

[4] De Sena 2014, 10, 12; Dinchev 2001, 224; Dodge 2009, 37; Kirova 2012, 205-6, 225-6; Müller 1851, 199, 15; The Constantinian expansion of Serdica's walls may not have been completed. For Constantine's supposed love for Serdica see the source *Anonymus post Dionem* (*Constantinus principio consilium ceperat sedem regni in urbem Sardicam transferendi; captusque eius Urbis amore semper iterabat: "Roma mea Sardica est."*)

The use of *opus mixtum* in the amphitheater's walls generally indicates a late 3rd – early 4th century AD construction date (Fig. 104). Most of the c. 1250 bronze coins found in and around the amphitheater date to the first half of the 4th century AD and are in good condition. The height of the building's use thus seems to have been at this time. Since only a few of these coins were minted between 309 – 11 and 317 AD but many more between 317 – 20 and 337 – 41 AD, Velichkov plausibly places the amphitheater's construction in the second decade of the 4th century AD. The substructure of the amphitheater's seating was repaired not long afterwards; finds of bronze coins of Constantine minted in 324 AD in the mortar used to make this repair suggest that it occurred in the second quarter of the 4th century AD.[5]

The amphitheater's western end and half of the eastern one are excavated (Figs. 103 – 104). Two primary entrances accessed the elliptical arena (61 x 43 m), the surface of which was covered with yellow sand, at the ends of its long axis. Both entrances were 3 m wide, and threshold cuttings indicate they were closed with double doors. Two small doorways were set into the arena wall short distances to the north and south of the western entrance. The arena's podium wall was brick-faced but had a brick, stone, and mortar core. At some places it had orthostats since three were found in-situ directly north of the western entrance. Vertical grooves cut into their sides indicate that metal grills were lowered to close the openings between them. Like similar openings in Philippi's theater in the late 3rd century AD and in Diocletianopolis' amphitheater, those in Serdica's amphitheater introduced animals into the arena. The tops of the orthostats held sockets for netting posts and iron clamps for attaching ropes behind them.[6]

[5] Dodge 2009, 33; Ivanov et al. 2006, 90; Kirova 2012, 235; Minchev 2019, 209; Vagalinski 2009, 75, Cat. #142; Velichkov 2011, 311-2; 2010, 354; 2009a, 120, 124; 2009b, 54, 57, 59-60; 2007, 256; Of the legible coins found in the amphitheater's excavation, most of which were isolated finds, Velichkov estimates that c. 55% were minted in the 4th century AD.

[6] Kirova 2012, 233; Velichkov 2009a, 120, 122; 2009b, 52, 54, 56-8; 2007, 255; A drainage channel (0.4 x 0.4 m) ran along the amphitheater's long axis.

The form of Serdica's amphitheater is relatively uncommon for a Roman amphitheater since it only had one side of seating on the arena's southern side (Fig. 103). This makes Serdica's amphitheater – and those at Diocletianopolis and Augusta Traiana – formally similar to theater-amphitheaters in Gaul, like those at Grant, Paris, Nerry le-Baine, and Lillebonne.[7] A series of radial walls that formed substructure rooms supported the sandstone blocks of the *cavea* (Figs. 103 – 104). The southernmost room excavated at the amphitheater's western end was inaccessible, but the four attested at its eastern end had doorways. The northern room opened into the entranceway to the arena while the second room, which was entered from the east, allowed access to the next two through 1 m wide doorways (Figs. 103 – 104). The *cavea* originally had one tier, but a 0.90 m wide wall was later added to the *cavea*'s rear wall for the addition of a *summa cavea*. One of the *summa cavea*'s retaining walls was found at the amphitheater's eastern end; attached to it are remains of two, curved substructure walls that ran along the back of the *ima cavea*. This is the update that Velichkov dates to the beginning of the second quarter of the 4th century AD that coincided with a repair of the amphitheater's substructure. Velichkov estimates that both seating tiers accommodated c. 3,000 spectators.[8]

T. Ivanov and S. Bobchev date a renovation of the *bouleuterium*, and the beginning of its use as an *odeum*, to the late 3rd century AD and so shortly before the amphitheater's construction. As was noted in Chapter Three, the *bouleuterium* (23.70 x 25.20 m) was most likely built in the early 2nd century AD soon after Serdica was founded. It likely had wooden seating, and its entrance (2.75 m wide) in the center of its southern wall opened onto an east – west street (Figs.

[7] Dodge 2009, 33; Ivanov et al. 2006, 91; Kirova 2012, 235; Velichkov 2009a, 122; 2009b, 57-8; Velichkov initially suggested a shorter, wooden tier of seating along the arena's northern side but has since discounted this theory because of a lack of evidence. See Sear 2006 for examples of similar amphitheater-theaters in Gaul (ex. 204-5, 209-11, 223, 225-6, 230-1, 234, 237-8).

[8] Ivanov et al. 2006, 90; Kirova 2012, 233-4; Velichkov 2009b, 54-5, 57; 2007, 256; This *ima cavea*'s rear wall thus became 2.20 m wide. Velichkov shared this seating capacity estimate in a meeting I had with him in fall 2017.

20, 105). The building's late 3rd century AD renovation added marble seating supported by radial walls. The placement of small rooms in the building's northern corners accompanied this change. It is unclear if the *cavea*'s lowest row reached the orchestra or ended at a podium. It is also unclear where the new *odeum*'s entrance was located. Given the new *cavea*'s substructure, Ivanov and Bobchev are likely correct that the southern entrance was blocked and that a new one was created in front of the small room in the *odeum*'s northwestern corner.[9]

Just as many of the structural details of Serdica's amphitheater, *odeum*, and especially theater are unknown, archaeological evidence for how these entertainment venues shaped their city by hosting cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions is likewise sparse. Still, because of their decoration or their find location's proximity to entertainment venues, civic monuments, artifacts, and structures or built features do readily attest to these structures' involvement in the interactions they accommodated. Most of this evidence pertains to the amphitheater, but civic monuments and structures also elucidate how people's use of the theater and *odeum* generated ideas that in turn contributed material actors to Serdica's urban landscape.

The Cultural Function of Serdica's Entertainment Venues

As with the *odea* at Thessalonica and Philippopolis, there is no direct evidence that Serdica's *bouleuterium* hosted entertainments. Unlike at Philippopolis and Nicopolis ad Istrum, there is also not a nearby library that indirectly supports this possibility. That being said, if these three cities' *odea* and that at Dion hosted entertainments by the late 2nd century AD, then it is equally likely that Serdica's *bouleuterium* did so by this time as well. This is particularly likely for the reason that Serdica seems to have been an equally complex urban network by the late 2nd

[9] Ivanov and Bobchev 1964, 55-6; Ivanov et al. 2004, 304-5; Kirova 2012, 214-6; Minchev 2019, 208; Kirova suggests that the *bouleuterium* was also repaired around when Serdica's walls were built in the late 2nd century AD. As for the *odeum*'s entrance after its 3rd century AD renovation, S. Boyadjiev contends that there was a central entrance in the northern wall instead. Kirova posits that the southern entrance continued to be used.

century AD. Indeed, it makes sense that the *bouleuterium* was expanded in the late 3rd century AD precisely so it could better offer small dramatic performances, philosophical lectures, etc., as occasions for cultural interactions among Serdica's more privileged inhabitants.

As was already noted, little is known about the form of Serdica's theater. Thus, little can be said specifically about how its architecture helped to inform the cultural values of spectators and performers through public entertainments from around the late 2nd – third quarter of the 3rd century AD. A few civic monuments in the form of *invitationes* and a statue base indicate that the theater did so by hosting dramatic performances, gladiatorial games, and animal hunts.

Three of the invitations, which were found highly fragmented in or near central Sofia, are for sets of gladiatorial games and animal hunts. One of these invitations can only be restored to read that a set of animal hunts was offered in the 2nd – 3rd century AD on the Kalends of November. Gladiatorial games would have been offered as well since these two kinds of performances almost always occurred together until Late Antiquity.[10] The two others can be restored as announcing gladiatorial games and animal hunts in Antoninus Pius' principate[11] or that of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.[12] A fourth *invitatio* advertises an athletic festival for

[10] *IGBulg* IV, 1920; Andreeva 2014, 333, Cat. #II/355; Streinu 2018, ; 359; Vagalinski 2009, 187, Cat. #73; This *invitatio* was found on Pirotska Street, west of central Sofia and outside of Serdica' walls, but was most likely set up in central Serdica like the other *invitationes* discussed here. Its two extant lines have been restored as: [- - - - - - *ἐπιτ]ελέσουσι κο̣[ντροκυνηγέσιον - - - καὶ - - - -]/ [- - - - - τῇ πρ]ὸ ε' καλ(ανδῶν) Νοεμ[βρίων - - - - - - - - - - -*].

[11] *IGBulg* IV, 1919; V, 5671; Streinu 2018, 359; Vagalinski 2009, 187, Cat. #72; One of these two invitations (0.63 x 0.49 x 0.16 m) was found in the area of the Sheraton hotel. It allows for a restoration of either Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius or Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Its first two lines read: *[Ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -] Ἀ̣ν[τ]ω-/ [νίνου -] Οὐήρου.*

[12] *IGBulg* IV, 1918; Vagalinski 2009, 84, 186-7, Cat. #71; This second, similar invitation (0.63 x 0.40 x 0.15 m) was found between the parliament building and the Sofia History Museum. Mention of imperial authority is preserved as *[Λο]υ̣κίου Κ̣ομόδο[υ]… καὶ τοῦ σύμ]παντος αὐτῶν/ [οἴκου],* and the kinds of games are preserved as *[ἐπιτελέσουσιν κυνήγια] καὶ μονομαχί-/ [ας].* Space for the name of two emperors and the mention of Commodus allows the possibility that these games were presented post-169 AD when he ruled with his father.

Apollo (seemingly *Pythia*) in Antoninus Pius' principate.[13] (See below for comments on the dating of these two *invitationes*). Similarly, a statue base seems to have honored a victor in late 2nd century AD Pythian games that were funded by the *ἀγωνοθετές* Julius Philopappus, Fulvius Asticus, Antonianus Asiaticus, Antonianus Asklepiades, and Arrius Pappus. It is worthwhile to note here that all of these names indicate that a few decades after Serdica was founded, its elites included individuals who came from families with origins in Greek cities either in Thrace or in nearby eastern provinces of the Empire.[14]

All the above invitations were most likely originally set up in central Serdica in or close to its undiscovered agora. To their viewers they all generally promote leisure as a valuable aspect of urban life. Their existence also implies that Serdica's people valued traits exhibited by performers like gladiators, animal hunters, athletes, and musicians (e.g. martial/professional skill, courage, and athleticism). These advertisements were thus able to bolster their viewers' support for these values, particularly by encouraging them to attend more performances at Serdica.

It is of course important to note that interactions in the theater do not seem to have been the impetus for these monuments' production. Most of them can be dated to the second or third quarter of the 2nd century AD and so decades before the theater seems to have been built. It is possible that the theater was built earlier than the slim evidence for its construction date suggests,

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[13] *IGBulg* IV, 1917; Vagalinski 2009, 26, 184-5, Cat. # 67; This invitation was found in five pieces, of which the first two are the most complete. The six extant lines of the first piece read: *Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι./ [Ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος κ]αίσαρος Τ(ίτου) Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνείνο[υ σ]εβαστ[οῦ‹σ]τοῦ› εὐ(σ)ηβοῦς τύ-/ [χης καὶ νίκης καὶ Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου κ]αίσαρος καὶ Λ(ουκίου) Α[ἰ]λίου Κομμόδου ὑγείας κ̣α[ὶ αἰωνίου δ]ιαμονῆς καὶ τοῦ/ [σύμπαντος αὐτῶν οἴκο]υ ἱερᾶς τε συνκλήτου καὶ δήμ[ου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων καὶ βουλῆ]ς τε καὶ [δ]ήμου/ [τοῦ Σερδων πόλεως - - ca. 5 l. - -]ν κα(ὶ) ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ὀλυμπί[ου Διὸς - - - - - - ca. 30 l. - - - - - - - - - - ἱε]ρᾶς/ [τε? συνκλήτου - - - - ca. 11 l. - - - -] παρακαλοῦσιν βουλ[ὴν - - - - - - - - - -]*. The second piece reveals that the invitation's games were athletic and in honor of Apollo (*[γυ-]/ μνικὸν ἀγῶνα ... [τ]ῷ Ἀπόλλῳ[νι]*).

[14] *IGBulg* IV, 1910; Andreeva 2014, 312-3; Vagalinski 2009, 26, 185, #68; -/ *[. .* (.) *Π]υθίων τῆς πρώτης/ τετραετηρίδος κατὰ/ τὸ δόγμα τῆς κρατίστης/ βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου/ δήμου, ἀγωνοθετούν-/ των Ἰουλ(ίου) Φιλοπάππου/ καὶ Φουλβίου Ἀστικοῦ/ καὶ Ἀντωνιανοῦ Ἀσιατικοῦ/ καὶ Ἀντωνιανοῦ Ἀσκληπιά-/ δου καὶ Ἀρρίου Πάππου*. Measuring 0.80 x 0.40 x 0.49 m, this broken statue base was found in the area of the Central Mall. As is noted again below, it is dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD before 186-7 AD.

in the early 2nd century AD around when the *bouleuterium* was built. If it was indeed built in the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD, however, then the games noted in these monuments took place somewhere else. Gladiatorial games and animal hunts would have been exhibited in a temporary venue; perhaps wooden stands were set up in the agora in a parallel situation to how Rome's first amphitheater was the Roman forum.[15] The athletic displays of the festival in Antoninus Pius' principate could have been staged simply in an open track outside the city walls, as at Dion.

As scholars have suggested for the *Pythia* noted on the statue base, it is also possible that another city hosted the above monuments' games. The name of the host city is not preserved, and another city's games could have been advertised at Serdica, as is suggested by an *invitatio* from Thessalonica that announces games at Beroia. As Petya Andreeva argues regarding the statue base, however, this scenario is unlikely since the game-givers on the base were seemingly citizens of Serdica. This is the case of Philopappus, whom an inscription from Serdica from Alexander Severus' reign honors as first archon. Without a sister-city relationship like that between Beroia and Thessalonica or Philippopolis and Perinthus (meeting place of the provincial assembly vs. provincial capital), it does seem unlikely that Philopappus and his peers gave another city a chance to profit from the acclaim these large-scale games were supposed to generate for Serdica. The same can be said for the athletic and gladiatorial games and animal hunts advertised on the other monuments.[16]

In sum, then, there is a tenuous chance that Serdica's theater was built early enough to host the gladiatorial battles and animal hunts and the dramatic and musical events of the *Pythia*

[15] Welch 2009, 55-7.

[16] Andreeva 2014, 312-3; The *invitatio* that advertises games at Beroia (*MΘ* 19474; *IG* X 2,1s 1073, Tab. V) was found in the pavement of Thessalonica's *odeum* and so was seemingly displayed in the agora like the other *invitationes* found here. The Iso-Actian Alexandrian games and gladiatorial combats and animal hunts advertised in this *invitatio* took place in 252 AD and were funded by the Macedonian koinon headed by Ti. Claudius Rufrius Meno and his wife Baebia Magna. Julius Philipappus is noted as first archon (*ἡ συναρχία*) in *IGBulg* IV, 1992.

that are recorded on the above monuments. These monuments would then manifest that the theater encouraged people to value the traits and themes these performances showcased. Even if the theater did not host these monuments' entertainments, they are still evidence that it had the capacity to shape Serdica by promoting cultural values through the same performances. In this case the theater constitutes the outcome of the Serdians' desire to have a structure that enhanced the messaging of the performances they had become accustomed to seeing elsewhere. As these performances' new setting, the theater had the capacity to inspire people to produce new material actors, some of which are equally likely to have been *invitationes* and honorific statues.

The construction of Serdica's amphitheater over the theater soon after the latter's destruction indicates that gladiatorial games and animal hunts were the city's preferred public entertainments in the 3rd century AD. The amphitheater's *cavea* gave spectators a view of a much wider arena than the theater possessed. The amphitheater in turn accommodated more gladiators and animal hunters per performance. These performers had more room to maneuver and to fight in more exhibitory ways to provoke greater support from spectators. The *stabula* at the arena's western end and likely elsewhere around it allowed hunters to introduce animals into the arena in ways that peaked spectators' excitement. With the arena's podium wall and netting, the *stabula* prepared spectators to respond avidly to the traits of the animals and animal hunters they saw.

An *invitatio ad munera* dated to the early 4th century AD provides insight into the kinds of animal hunts and other performances the amphitheater hosted (Fig. 106). The invitation was most likely set up in or near Serdica's agora since it was found in excavations under St. Nedelya in central Sofia. This architectural decoration is a particularly expressive manifestation of the amphitheater's capacity to inculcate spectators and performers with cultural values. In contrast to the other *invitationes* discussed in this study, its relief decoration is almost fully intact, but its

inscription is missing. The *invitatio* can be linked to the amphitheater because it was the only building for animal hunts at Serdica by the late 3rd century AD. Moreover, the *invitatio*'s relief depicts a three-tiered building façade set above the arena, which quite plausibly represents the amphitheater and its sculptural decoration. The amphitheater's southern side had two tiers of seating set above a podium wall by Constantine's reign, and it was normal for the façades of Roman amphitheaters to have a top, decorative arcaded story.[17]

Most of the invitation's relief presents animals fighting hunters (7 pairs) or other animals (3-4 pairs). The animals are predominantly bears, but four bulls and a deer are also pictured (Fig. 106). A crocodile, which is oddly rendered with an abnormally large head and without legs, also appears at the relief's center directly beside a hunter armed with a sword and shield and facing a bear.[18] The hunters in the other six animal and hunter pairings are lightly dressed and armed. Two hunters near the top of the relief face charging bulls; one hunter is ready to pole-vault over his bull (top center). The other four hunters face bears. One of these hunters is largely missing (top right), but his foot indicates he is turning to run or falling. Another hunter with a whip is shown prone and being mauled by his bear (top left) while the hunter to his right squarely faces the bear leaping at him. The fourth hunter (bottom right) bates his bear from behind a wooden barricade or turnstile. As for the animal pairs, besides the crocodile and bear at the relief's center, one bear chases a deer (center left) while two others jump on bulls (bottom left and right).

[17] *IGBulg* IV, 1921; V, 5672; Ivanov 2005, 16; Kirova 2012, 233; Minchev 2019, 209; Vagalinski 2009, 113-4, 204-5, Cat. #122; Velichkov 2009b, 51; The *invitatio* (0.77 x 0.59 x 0.025 m) was found in 1919 along the eastern wall of a large public building (near #16 in Fig. 20). For upper arcaded stories in Roman amphitheaters see the Colosseum and the amphitheater at Uthina and El Djem in Tunisia, for example.

[18] Vagalinski 2009, 113-4, 204-5, Cat. #122; Velichkov 2009b, 51; While the relief is most likely meant to show a real crocodile, the crocodile's strange appearance and location right next to the hunter may suggest instead that it was some sort of elaborate prop or decoy the hunter used in his fight against the bear. The importance of showmanship in animal hunts tentatively supports this possibility. A fake crocodile prop could have complemented well the figure of the more heavily-armed hunter.

The *invitatio* thus dramatically promotes ideas like the strength and ferocity of the wild animals and the bravery and martial skill of the hunters. The invitation also suggests that the animal hunts it advertises would encourage spectators and performers to hold such cultural values, in the same way as the previous animal hunts in the amphitheater that shaped the invitation's decoration.[19]

The *invitatio* also depicts musicians and pantomimes, which indicates that they performed in the amphitheater at animal hunts and perhaps gladiatorial battles. Musicians playing tambourines are pictured at the left side of the invitation. It thus seems that musicians periodically roused the crowd's attention with percussive instruments, especially at dramatic turn of events in the arena. Most of the pantomimes appear bottom center on the invitation on what seems to be a wooden stage. They wear bear masks and act out little scenes. The pair at the left pretends to be a pair of gladiators, one of which is a *retiarius*, while the other pair interacts with a box out of which pops a (most likely fake) little bear. To the right, a fifth pantomime rides a horse in imitation of a cavalryman.[20] It is quite likely that these kinds of pantomimes were regular features of the amphitheater's animal hunts and gladiatorial battles. These comedic diversions were able to increase spectators' enjoyment in these contexts and so further encourage them – in addition to the animal hunts and gladiatorial battles themselves – to value leisure and other abstract qualities like artistic expression and professional skill.[21]

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[19] Ivanov 2005, 16.

[20] Ivanov 2005, 16; Minchev 2019, 209; Vagalinski 2009, 113-4, 204-5, Cat. #122; Velichkov 2009b, 51; A wooden stage could have been placed anywhere in the arena. So that it would not be in the way of performers and could be seen clearly by spectators, it was most likely placed in arena's center or at the center of its northern wall. Perhaps the box between the right pair of pantomimes on the stage was a kind of jack-in-the-box that launched a fake bear when someone struck a pressure pad with a mallet. Ivanov suggests unconvincingly that the pantomimes are trained monkeys.

[21] See Lucian's *On Pantomime* (e.g. 6, 10, 35-6) for his character Lycinus' hypothetic defense of the commendable qualities of pantomime. Animal hunts in the amphitheater also inspired the production of seating tickets. One such ticket found in poor condition during the amphitheater's excavations seems to depict a bear fighting a hunter. I would like to thank Zharin Velichkov for telling me about this ticket (personal correspondence 11/10/2017).

The Political Function of Serdica's Entertainment Venues

Serdica's amphitheater, theater, and *odeum* prompted political interactions at the same time as cultural ones. However, few material expressions of spectators and performers' consideration of the hierarchy and senses of community among each other while in these venues have been attested in Serdica's urban landscape. Particularly in the theater's case, few specifics are also available regarding how each entertainment venue guided people to think about their relationships with one another through seating arrangements and crowd movement.

Seats in the amphitheater's *cavea* were apportioned hierarchically in a regular manner, seemingly without a VIP box. The addition of the *summa cavea* enabled a larger cross-section of Serdica's population to attend the amphitheater's performances and so increased the structure's capacity to compel people to endorse a social hierarchy and senses of community. Spectators do not seem to have reached the *cavea* from its sides or from the arena, so they most likely accessed it from the rear. In this way their movement seems to have been separated from that of performers, whose movement around the amphitheater mostly entailed using the arena's two gates after spectators had taken their seats and before they left. Performers most likely also used the substructure rooms on the amphitheater's eastern side for preparation and prop storage.[22] This is how the amphitheater was able to reinforce spectators' higher status in relation to performers as well as a sense of a professional community among the latter.

The *invitatio ad munera* from Serdica is one of the material actors that the amphitheater helped to produce by hosting political interactions. Following convention, the invitation's inscription originally began with the emperor's name and then mentioned regional imperial authorities like the governors of Dacia Mediterranea and diocese of Dacia (Fig. 5). The

[22] Velichkov 2009b, 54.

inscription also once mentioned local authorities like the financiers of the games it advertised. The invitation thus expressed that at previous performances in the amphitheater, people were made aware of their status distinctions and their shared participation in urban life. This means the invitation further prompted its viewers to see a hierarchy and a shared civic identity as vital aspects of their city's prosperity. By promoting civic pride through performances and as a civic monument, the amphitheater also had a role in introducing streets at its entrances that were monumental in their width and large pavers and so reflective of Serdians' civic pride.[23]

Since the remains of Serdica's theater are sparse, it can mostly only be said that it generally promoted senses of hierarchy and community among spectators and performers like the other theaters in this study. If the large rectangular room in the remains was a *parascaenium*, then the theater was somewhat remarkable for affording performers considerable preparation and storage space. As with the large *scaenae* at Heraclea and Philippi's theaters, for example, this afforded more space for a sense of community to develop among performers. As is noted above, it is doubtful that the civic monuments found at Serdica that reference public entertainments before the late 2nd century AD can be called products of the theater's mediation.

However, the monument dated to Alexander Severus' reign, on which Julius Philopappus the *ἀγωνοθετής* is again referenced, can be characterized as such. The monument's extant base notes that Serdica dedicated the statue of Alexander Severus when Philopappus was first archon. By 222-35 AD, the theater had been in use for at least a decade or two. Since Philopappus was a former game-giver in this span of time, he would have been a regular spectator at performances in the theater and perhaps also a financier of games in this new entertainment venue. The public support he gained from such appearances would help to explain why his elite peers and his city's

[23] Velichkov 2009b, 56-7; 2007, 255.

non-elites supported his election as first archon. The monument to Alexander Severus is thus a plausible manifestation of the theater's promotion of the idea that local elite leadership backed by imperial authority was vital to urban success.[24]

Serdica's *odeum* was able to endorse this idea among the elites who frequented it for city council meetings and performances as well as among the non-elites who saw the building and elites interacting around it. As with this study's other *odea*, the use of Serdica's *odeum* particularly for meetings at which its city's affairs were decided also made it a potentially potent source of civic identity for elites and non-elites. As such, the *odeum* would have played a role in contributing to the construction of the structures that once surrounded it.

One such structure is the monumental building that excavators designated "Building II," which occupied the entire *insula* south of the *odeum* (Fig. 102). Six rectangular rooms on its western side were entered through their exterior wall from the supposed area of the agora, which led excavators to consider them shops. Smaller rooms were arranged along the building's northern side and opened onto the street south of the *odeum*. On Building II's southern side were two rows of equally-sized rooms that opened onto a street; the building's entrance seems to have been on this side. Because its interior rooms were later reorganized, the building's construction date is unclear. It existed at least since the mid-3rd century AD.[25]

While the rooms on Building II's western side were likely shops, if not also some of those inside it, the building's other functions are unclear. Based on Building II's size, interior subdivisions, and proximity to the supposed agora and *odeum,* Kirova suggests that it held the city's archives and hosted various administrative activities. This mix of administrative and

[24] *IGBulg* IV, 1992; Andreeva 2014, 312; *Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ./ τὸν μέγισ-/ τον καὶ θει-/ ότατο Αὐ-/ τοκράτορα/ Μ(ᾶρκον) Αὐρήλι-/ ον Σευῆρον/ Ἀλέχανδρο-/ ν Σεβαστὸν ἡ/ Σερδων πόλις,/ ἐπὶ συναρχίας/ Ἰουλίου Φη-/ λοπάππου.*

[25] Ivanov and Bobchev 1964, 56-7; Kirova 2012, 215, 217.

commercial functions is tentative but plausible since such a structure would have facilitated well interactions in the nearby *bouleuterium/odeum*, agora, and *praetorium* (or baths).[26] Based on its proximity to the *odeum* and its hypothesized functions, Building II thus plausibly constitutes one way the *odeum* shaped its surroundings by promoting a sense of civic identity.

The Religious Function of Serdica's Entertainment Venues

There is no evidence for the religious interactions the *odeum* likely mediated, but sparse evidence is available for the theater and amphitheater. In the theater's case there is the *invitatio* to the athletic festival in Antoninus Pius' principate, on which survives the detail that the game-giver was a priest of Olympian Zeus. If the cult of Zeus was promoted on this occasion then it was likely also invoked in later performances in the theater. In addition, the epithet "Olympian," which recalls Hadrian's patronage of the eastern provinces (including Thrace), reinforces that this athletic festival was also dedicated to the imperial cult. The top of the invitation specifies this by noting that the festival was undertaken for the fortune, victory, health, and preservation (*ὑπὲρ τῆς…τύχης καὶ νίκης καὶ…ὑγείας καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς*) of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus. The *invitatio* thus looks ahead to the regular invocation of the emperor and his family alongside traditional deities in performances at the theater. The idea here was that this joint divine patronage ensured the prosperity of Serdica, Thrace, and the Empire.[27]

Given that gladiatorial battles and animal hunts were associated with the imperial cult across the Empire, the amphitheater would have promoted the veneration of divinized and living

[26] Ivanov and Bobchev 1964, 56-7; Kirova 2012, 215, 217; Moreover, it was in the first half of the 4th century AD around when Building II was destroyed that the two small rooms were added to the *odeum*'s north wall. If these rooms were archives as scholars like Boyadjiev and Kirova suggest, then they support the idea that Building II had formerly stored the city council's decrees. Conversely, perhaps Building II was a *macellum* or *horreum*.

[27] *IGBulg* IV, 1917; Vagalinski 2009, 26, 184-5, Cat. # 67; Perhaps a marble statue of Asklepios found at the northern side of the amphitheater in 2nd – 3rd century building remains was a material outcome of this god's invocation in the theater, perhaps during games dedicated to him (see Velichkov 2009b, 52).

emperors as well. The relief-decorated *invitatio* from Serdica suggests that Aphrodite and Cybele-Magna Mater were also among the deities that were presented in the amphitheater through images or acclamations. Aphrodite is shown standing in an arch in the invitation's top left corner. Nude from the waist up, she holds a mirror in her left hand and perhaps a comb in her right one (Fig. 106). Below her in the amphitheater's façade is Cybele seated on a throne and accompanied by a pair of sitting lions. She holds out a *patera* in her right hand and grips a staff in her left one. It seems, then, that statues of the goddesses were in the amphitheater, which means that the building prompted spectators and performers alike to consider them among Serdica's divine patrons. The amphitheater was especially able to do so when verbal acclamations of the goddesses drew attention to these images.[28]

Since the invitation presents Aphrodite in the midst of cultivating her beauty, she could have been invoked as a guarantor of peace at Serdica and of the city's physical beauty. Cybele's attributes (her staff, lions, and walled crown) suggest that proper worship of her guaranteed Serdica's regional political status, its safety, and its people's martial strength. The selection of Aphrodite and Cybele from among the amphitheater's sculptural decoration for representation on the *invitatio* makes it in part a product of the amphitheater's earlier promotion of these two goddesses' cults and of other deities with statues in its façade. Indeed, by associating these deities with upcoming games, the invitation conveys that they and the traditional Roman gods in general still safeguarded the success of Serdica's urban life in the early 4th century AD.[29]

[28] Vagalinski 2009, 113-4, 204-5, Cat. #122; Vagalinski suggests that the games advertised on the invitation may have been dedicated to Cybele, but ultimately it is unknown to what deity they were dedicated.

[29] Nankov 2007, 50, 52, 54; Here Nankov discusses the meanings of Cybele's attributes in connection with a ceramic statue of the goddess found at Seuthopolis (early 3rd century AD).

The Economic Function of Serdica's Entertainment Venues

This *invitatio ad munera* is also a material actor that Serdica's entertainment venues helped to introduce to their urban landscape by inspiring economic interactions. The economic interactions that were immediately involved in this architectural decoration's production (an elite approaching a local craftsman, the craftsman procuring supplies, an exchange of money when the job was done, etc.) were local. Since the invitation promises wild animals, it is also indirectly a material outcome of the amphitheater stimulating economic activity in Serdica that expanded outside of the city on regional and interregional scales. Animal merchants were able to procure the bears, bulls, and deer that are pictured in the invitation from mountainous areas in Thrace. The crocodile came from Egypt, thus indicating interregional trade.[30]

Since it is an outcome of far-reaching trade in wild animals, the *invitation* indicates that the regular provision of animals and performers for the amphitheater, and the theater before it, inhibited as well as encouraged further economic activity at Serdica. The farther from the city animals and performers had to be procured, the more of a game-giver's financial resources were lost to other communities. These resources were then not available to stimulate further commercial exchange in the city. At the same time, planning for the animals' purchase and an initial or final exchange of money would have taken place at Serdica.

The 3rd – 4th century AD coins from the theater and amphitheater's excavations also suggest that these buildings were foci for economic interactions during festivals. As in the cases of coins found at this study's other entertainment venues, spectators at Serdica's theater and

[30] Jennison 2005, 50; Brown bears still inhabit the Balkan and Rhodopi Mountains in Bulgaria (https://bulguides.com/the-wildlife-of-bulgaria/). This discussion is of course predicated on the idea that the animals depicted on the invitation did indeed appear in the amphitheater. This is highly likely since the financiers of the *invitatio*'s games would have ensured that these games occurred as advertised if they did not want to jeopardize their reputations. Bones from bears and bulls were also found in the amphitheater's excavations (Velichkov 2009a, 125).

amphitheater would not have brought "pocket money" if they could not have spent it at nearby vendors' stalls. The two structures thus shaped their urban landscapes by inducing vendors to set up stalls nearby and enticing visitors from near and far to spend their money in the city. The coins from the theater and amphitheater were largely small copper and bronze denominations (*folles*, *nummi*, and centenarians). Thus, spectators bought inexpensive items like locally-made glass and ceramic vessels. Finds of bones from animals such as rabbits, pigs, and chickens suggest that spectators also purchased concessions.[31]

As for Serdica' *odeum*, it has already been noted that Building II most likely held shops. This makes them and the goods sold in them to some extent material outcomes of the economic interactions the *odeum* facilitated. Moreover, like the *odea* at Thessalonica, Dion, and Philippopolis, it is quite likely that the meetings and performances Serdica's *odeum* hosted inspired spectators to patronize stores in and around the agora. In these ways, then, the *odeum* was able to promote commerce and manufacturing in its urban landscape.

By the end of the 4th century AD, the *odeum* and amphitheater had ceased to serve Serdica as they previously had. The *odeum* seems to have stopped hosting performances and council meetings around the third quarter of the 4th century AD. At this time a Christian chapel was built over it, and a bath or church was placed over Building II's eastern end.[32] As for the amphitheater, many of the 4th century AD coins found during its excavations date to the reigns of Valens and Valentinian I (364/7 – 375 AD). Thus, at this time it still hosted a fair amount of activity associated with public entertainments. A lack of coins for the emperors who ruled in the

[31] Velichkov 2011, 311; 2009a, 124-5; 2009b, 58-61; The identifiable foreign coins found in the amphitheater's excavations were minted at sites such as Thessalonica (27), Cyzicus (16), Constantinople (12), Nicomedia (9), Sirmium (1), Alexandria (2), Rome (2), Aquilea (1), and Terveri (2). In conversation with Velichkov (11/10/2017), he confirmed that shops in the amphitheater's vicinity are likely but so far have not been attested archaeologically. He also stressed that no imported ceramics were found in the amphitheater's excavations.

[32] Boyadjiev et al. 2009, 17; Ivanov and Bobchev 1964, 57; Kirova 2012, 227, 229.

early 5th century AD suggest that performances in the amphitheater ceased at the end of the 4th century AD. The amphitheater was then quarried and become a neighborhood.[33] In the 5th – 6th centuries AD, then, the *odeum* and amphitheater were reused but in ways that suggest collective memory of their previous services to Serdica (see Chapter Eight).

In the end, structural, artefactual, and epigraphic evidence considered above leaves tantalizing questions concerning the full original forms of Serdica's entertainment venues, the functions of structures in their immediate surroundings, and the variety of the ideological and material outcomes of their participation in the interactions they hosted. These questions of course reflect substantial gaps in knowledge of Serdica's urban development from the early 2nd through the 4th century AD. Available evidence does corroborate, though, that Serdica's theater, amphitheater, and *bouleuterium/odeum* were equipped to influence the lives of diverse groups of people in a variety of ways and with substantial results.

Serdica's public entertainment venues were generally like those at Philippopolis and Diocletianopolis – and at Philippi, Heraclea Lyncestis, Stobi, and Thessalonica – in terms of the cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions they accommodated and the ideas and material outcomes that were generated by this multivalent accommodation. The same goes for the architectural forms of Serdica's entertainment venues. At the same time, all these cases present distinct differences. Serdica's *bouleteuterium/odeum*, theater, and amphitheater were architecturally fairly different from those at Philippopolis and Diocletianopolis, for example, and were situated around Serdica quite differently as well. Indeed, the meager remains of the theater hint that its *parascaenia* were abnormally elongated and its orchestra oddly deep in comparison with Philippopolis' theater and theaters in Macedonia. Additionally, the theater and amphitheater

[33] Ivanov et al. 2006, 91; Velichkov 2010, 354; 2009a, 125; 2009b, 58, 60; 2007, 256; The latest coins from the amphitheater's seating area date to the reigns of Theodosius I, Valentinian II, and Arcadius (383-392 AD).

were located outside of Serdica's fortification walls unlike all the other entertainment venues so far located or excavated in the former territory of Thrace.

Thus, Serdica's entertainment venues had structural forms and shaped urban life in ways that are recognizable from the examples of other such buildings in Thrace and Macedonia but that demonstrate the adaptability of these structures and their functions to different local urban networks. The second half of this chapter further explores this adaptability in relation to the amphitheater at Augusta Traiana in eastern-central Thrace. This entertainment venue stands out among the others known for Thrace because of its irregular structural form and the monuments it contributed to its urban landscape by hosting gladiatorial battles.

The Amphitheater at Augusta Traiana

The Form and Dating of Augusta Traiana's Amphitheater

Little is known about the features of Augusta Traiana's urban landscape between the 2nd and 4th century AD. As was mentioned in Chapter Three, the mid-2nd – third quarter of the 3rd century AD was a time of economic prosperity for the city that saw the large-scale production of many kinds of consumer goods, especially bronze objects. Augusta Traiana was a prosperous local urban network at this time; Geta designated the city a *neokoros*, and it minted its own coins until Gallienus' principate. It is unclear how the Gothic invasion of Thrace in the mid-3rd century AD affected Augusta Traiana. As Ruben Ivanov notes, for example, there is no evidence that the fortification wall, which was built around the time of Philippopolis' in the principate of Marcus Aurelius, was repaired in the late 3rd century AD. In general, then, the known built spaces of Augusta Traiana's urban landscape do not firmly indicate how these events affected the dense and complex network of interactions at the site.[34]

[34] Boyadjiev 2006, 66; Ivanov 2012, 471-2, 476; Minchev 2019, 213; Popova 2017, 64.

One notable change that dates to the third quarter of the 3rd century AD is the use of the square at the southwestern gate as an amphitheater (Fig. 24). The amphitheater had one tier of seating with a shallow elliptical curve at its center that was added onto the bath's southern wall over an arched substructure (Fig. 104). This *cavea* is estimated to have had 12 rows with 60 seats each, which means a seating capacity of around 720 spectators. Augusta Traiana's amphitheater was thus like those at Serdica and Diocletianopolis in its general form and more like the latter in size. A *diazoma* backed by a colonnade was at the top of the *cavea*. An orthostat podium wall c. 0.90 m tall with sockets for a netting system on its upper surface was at the *cavea*'s base. Three staircases pierced the podium at the ends and center of the *cavea*'s ellipsoidal portion; they could be blocked with grills. A barrier was set across from this seating area on the northern side of the street at the southwestern gate. It was composed of stone piers (c. 1.10 tall) decorated with gladiator reliefs, between which were stone panels that resembled framed netting (Fig. 108).[35]

The style of the reliefs on the piers in the amphitheater's southern barrier and ceramic vessel and coins finds from the baths at the southwestern gate convincingly date Augusta Traiana's amphitheater to the third quarter of the 3rd century AD. Vagalinski instead asserts that the baths were renovated in the early 4th century AD. He in turn holds that the square did not host gladiatorial games or animal hunts since it would not have done so for long before a statue was installed at the square's center in the mid-4th century AD. He thus denies that the piers decorated with gladiator reliefs were used to form a barrier at the southern side of an arena in the square.[36]

[35] Boyadjiev 2006, 79; Ivanov 2012, 473-4, 480, Figs. 20-22; 2006, 37-8, Fig. 3; Ivanov et al. 2006, 91-2; 2004, 305; Kalchev 2001, 110; Minchev 2019, 214; Nikolov 1987, 103-4; Popova 2017, 66-7, 76-9; Vagalinski 2009, 79; Nikolov estimates instead that the seating area could hold c. 1,300 spectators. The stone panels at the arena's southern side were held in place by slots cut into the piers' sides. Boyadjiev and Ivanov hold that there was a seating area on the side of a building opposite this *cavea*, but a lack of archaeological evidence for this and the pier-supported barrier negate this idea.

[36] Minchev 2019, 214; Vagalinski 2009, 79; Vagalinski also finds the square's shape inconducive to hosting games. Vagalinski further discusses a large building that he says was built in the square in the 2nd century AD and was

Sockets found on both sides of the square, however, refute Vagalinki's argument that the square did not host gladiatorial games and animal hunts. First, there are the sockets for netting at the bottom of the seating area, and second, another set of sockets was uncovered in a row at the northern side of the street at the southwestern gate. The latter sockets correspond in size to holes in the bottom of the relief piers. The amphitheater's structural simplicity also supports an adaptation of the square for entertainments earlier than the early 4th century AD. Damage from a Gothic attack in the mid-3rd century AD could explain why Augusta Traiana's theater could no longer host animal hunts and gladiatorial games. The amphitheater's simplicity, then, makes it likely that it became the new venue for public entertainments soon afterwards, in the third quarter of the 3rd century AD when renovations began at cities across Thrace.[37]

Most scholars date the addition of the *cavea* to the southern exterior wall of the baths at Augusta Traiana's southwestern gate to the same time as the square's transformation into an amphitheater. Vania Popova, however, dates the construction of the baths to the reign of Septimius Severus and proposes that the seating area was built near the end of Caracalla's reign. She also suggests that ephebes who used a *palaestra* connected to the baths, which is archaeologically unattested, exhibited their athletic skills before an audience in the *cavea*. Popova points out that such exhibitions for ephebes' families would account for the *cavea*'s relatively small size. Popova's proposed dating and earlier use of the seating area present an intriguing scenario that would help to explain why gladiatorial games and animal hunts came to

destroyed in the mid-3rd century AD. In contrast to other scholars, he posits that the bath and square were built after this building.

[37] Kalchev 2001, 110; Popova 2017, 75-7.

be staged at Augusta Traiana's southwestern gate. Although plausible, this scenario requires secure archaeological ground to gain traction.[38]

With regard to evaluating how public entertainment venues shaped their urban spaces in Roman Thrace, Augusta Traiana is different than the other sites in this study in that more evidence is available for the influence of the undiscovered 2nd – mid-3rd century AD theater than for the late 3rd – mid-4th century AD amphitheater.[39] Augusta Traiana's archaeological record is well-known for many monuments and artifacts that bear images of gladiators and animal hunters and largely date to the 2nd – 3rd centuries AD. This evidence thus indicates that the city's theater contributed significantly to various aspects of urban life by hosting gladiatorial battles and animal hunts. For this reason, examples of the material actors the theater helped to introduce to its city are discussed here. Discussion of these funerary monuments, architectural decorations, and consumer goods also both substantiates why Augusta Traiana's people were compelled to improvise an amphitheater at their city's southwestern gate and suggests other ways by which this new entertainment venue shaped its surroundings.

The Cultural Function of Augusta Traiana's Amphitheater and Theater

Augusta Traiana's theater hosted dramatic performances, animal hunts, and gladiatorial battles. Monuments or consumer goods that reference actors have not been found at Augusta

[38] Minchev 2019, 214; Popova 2017, 66, 68-70, 72, 77; The scholars who date the *cavea*'s construction to the third quarter of the 3rd century AD include Rumen Ivanov (2012; 2006) and Dimitar Nikolov (1987). It also seems more plausible that the baths at Augusta Traiana's southwestern gate were built in Marcus Aurelius' principate since in their form they resemble those at Odessos, which can be dated to the end of the 2nd century AD (Boyadjiev 2006, 77). Minchev supports Popova's idea that the *cavea* at the baths were built in the 2nd century AD.

[39] Augusta Traiana is like Marcianopolis in this respect. The amphitheater does not seem to date earlier than the late 3rd century AD, but gladiator funerary monuments that date to the mid-2nd – early 3rd century AD have been found. One such monument is an altar with a long inscription and a relief that is dedicated to the *secutor* and later *murmillo* Marcianus, who went by the stage-name Polyneikes; perhaps this is the same Polyneikes who avenged the *secutor* Victor at Philippopolis (Andreeva 2014, 338, Cat. #II/394; Vagalinski 2009, 157, Cat. #24). Finds like this one led Vagalinski to suggest that Marcianopolis' amphitheater was built under the Severans (2009, 73).

Traiana. There is, however, a base for a statue that was dedicated to a mime writer named Nikias. Nikias' son Herodianus, whose name suggests that the monument dates to the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD, records that he is honoring his father in part for the delightful and witty mimes he wrote (*τερπνῶν τε μείμων, οὕς ἔγραψεν ἀστείως*). Since Augusta Traiana's city council first needed to endorse this monument before it was set up, and the base's inscription notes that the council did, the monument implies that the mimes Nikias wrote were presented to the public formally and not simply widely read privately. It was the theater that hosted Nikias' mimes and so allowed him to gain public recognition for the enjoyment he brought to his city's inhabitants. This makes Nikias' monument a material outcome of the theater having led people to value various concepts promoted by mimes and their plots based on myths and everyday life, such as *otium*, a degree of literary education, artistic expression, and human ingenuity.[40]

Monuments that were commissioned because the theater promoted cultural values through the gladiatorial games and animal hunts it accommodated include two relief-decorated blocks and a gladiator's funerary stele. One of the relief-decorated blocks is from an architrave. Similar to the case of the decorative architrave block from Philippopolis, it originally showed either a series of gladiator pairings or, in this case more likely, stages in a fight between the same gladiators (Fig. 109). Three heavy gladiators, seemingly *secutores* based on their helmets and armatures, and a *retiarius* are preserved. The gladiator at the far left holds his shield against his body and his sword at his right side and faces an enemy to the left. The next gladiator is a *retiarius* who jabs his trident at a heavy gladiator with the same pose as the first one. The final,

[40] *IGBulg* III, 2 1578; Dimitrov 1950, 211; Ivanov 2012, 483; Minchev 2019, 213; *ἀγαθῆι τύχη[ι]./ Ἡρωδιανὸς Νεικίου πατρὸς ἔστησεν/ χάλκειον ἀνδριάντα πατρίδος ψήφῳ/ γνώμης τε ἕκατι ---- μείλιχος γὰρ ἦν πᾶσιν ----/ τερπνῶν τε μείμων, οὕς ἔγραψεν ἀστεί-/ ως.* ("For good fortune. Herodianus set up a bronze statue of his father Nikias with the vote of his hometown both for the sake of his memory, for he was kind to all, and because of his delightful mimes, which he wrote in a witty manner."). See Lucian's *On Pantomime* (e.g. 65-79) for examples of the ideas audiences could get from mimes and pantomimes.

heavy gladiator has fallen to his knees and dropped his shield but still holds his short straight sword. An inscription once labelled the gladiators; the name *Λευκάσπις* is fully preserved.[41]

The dramatic imagery of this architrave block's relief was formulated to increase its viewers' excitement for gladiatorial games in the theater. It prompts its viewers to favorably consider the pictured gladiators' courage, training, and martial skill and to dwell on concepts like mercy, since the gladiator at the far right has a *retiarius*' trident poised ready to strike at his left shoulder. This architectural decoration was installed on some public building in the second half of the 2nd century AD to advertise upcoming gladiatorial battles and animal hunts. After these games it reminded people of the cultural values and lessons they had learned and would continue to learn from similar performances in the theater in the future.

The second relief-decorated block, which dates to the second half of the 2nd AD, shows an animal hunter advancing to his left toward a leaping panther (Fig. 110). He holds a sheet in his left hand to wave or throw to distract his opponent. He prepares to throw a spear with his right hand. In the background are two trees that likely represent scenery employed in the theater's arena.[42] This scene is formulated to excite viewers and to promote as values the courage and martial skill that animal hunters displayed as they encountered dangerous wild animals in the arena, thus reflecting how such scenes did the same in real time in the theater.[43]

[41] *IGBulg* III,2 1582, Tbl. 23; Ivanov 2012, 475, Fig. 8; 2006, 38, Fig. 5; Vagalinski 2009, 180, Cat. #58; Again, perhaps this is the Leukaspis who died at Thessalonica. The relief is 0.69 m tall, 0.78 m long, and 0.153 m thick.

[42] Andreeva 2014, 339; Dimitrov 1950, 206-8; Hammer 2010; Vagalinski 2009, 112, Cat. #109.

[43] Vagalinski notes the existence of but does not include pictures for three other relief decorated blocks that have been found at Stara Zagora (Vagalinski 2009, 112, Cat. #111-113). They are all dated broadly to the 2nd – 3rd century AD. Two of these, on each of which are preserved features of a gladiator, are unpublished (Cat. #112-3). The third (Cat. #111) shows a gladiator with his leg raised and holding his sword high above his shield. These three reliefs may have been architectural decorations in the theater or another public space.

The heavy dimensions of the block on which this hunting scene is carved (1.06 m x 0.83 m x 0.20 m) and the thick moldings at its bottom edge indicate that it stood on the ground as part of a barrier. Two other relief-decorated blocks found at Augusta Traiana are from the same barrier since they are of the same size, have the same upper and lower moldings, and bear the same style of reliefs. Trees frame these reliefs like that on the previous block, but their subject matter is different. One shows a seated cobbler who is accompanied by a smaller figure, likely a slave, while the other presents a dancing maenad (Fig. 110). The diverse subject matter of the three relief scenes does not allow for a clear idea of where they were originally placed. They are the kind of reliefs, however, that could have decorated the podium wall at the base of a *scaenae frons*, like that at the theaters at Hierapolis in the province of Asia and Sabratha in the province of Africa. As Dimitar Dimitrov and Vagalinski suggest, then, these three relief scenes may have belonged to the *scaenae frons* of Augusta Traiana's theater. Until more pieces of this barrier are found or the site of the theater is located, it can only be said for sure that these reliefs' monumentality indicates their placement in an important public building or space.[44]

It is unclear why exactly an animal hunter, dancing maenad, and cobbler were presented together on this architectural decoration. It could very well be that all three reliefs and the others that originally accompanied them represent vignettes from the various performances Augusta Traiana's theater hosted. Maenads easily could have appeared in various dramatic performances while a cobbler perhaps featured in the plot of a mime or pantomime that was inspired by everyday life. If this was the common thread that drew these three images together, then the

[44] Dimitrov 1950, 206-10; Vagalinski 2009, 112, Cat. #109; These two relief-decorated blocks (1.16 x 0.86 x 0.27 m) are on display in the Regional Historical Museum Stara Zagora. The maenad relief, which was found reused as a headstone in Stara Zagora's Jewish cemetery, is pictured and published briefly in Dimitrov 1950. The shoemaker relief is published in a later issue of the *Годишник на Археологически Музей в Пловдив*. They are presented here based on personal photos. Another location for them could have been between columns in Augusta Traiana's agora, as marble barriers appeared in Thessalonica's agora.

maenad relief would be a material outcome of dramatic performances in the theater conveying ideas like a warning against angering the gods (particularly Dionysos) and so falling prey to his followers (like Lykurgos). As for the cobbler relief, it could reflect how some performances in the theater encouraged spectators to look kindly on such craftspeople for their professional skill.

The funerary stele of an unnamed gladiator is a third material actor from Augusta Traiana that was produced through the theater's mediation of the performances it hosted. Dated to the first quarter of the 3rd century AD, the stele is from Augusta Traiana's southwestern necropolis. Like the grave marker for Leukaspis from Thessalonica, it shows a front-facing gladiator who holds a victory palm branch in his right hand and places his left one on his helmet, which sits on a small rectangular shield (Fig. 111). He wears a *subligaculum* and *balneus,* an upper-chest guard, a padded right sleeve, and greaves. Four grooves carved between his right leg and the palm branch likely enumerate his victories. The *secutor*'s stele thus prompts viewers to admire his martial skill and the victory he achieved through it. In this way, the monument captures that the theater encouraged the public to value the traits and concepts explored in gladiatorial combat. This stele's inscription captures this. It notes that a group of craftsmen who made decorative floors (*σκουτλάριοι*) dedicated the stele in honor of the deceased gladiator. Perhaps the odd combination of professions captured in this monument arose because the unnamed gladiator was a *σκουτλάριος* before he changed careers for a chance at greater wealth and renown.[45]

Once the amphitheater took over the theater's accommodation of gladiatorial battles and animal hunts, it too inspired the production of civic monuments that were able to prompt the public to consider further the cultural values these performances imparted. The *cavea*'s podium wall and netting system and the stone barrier across from it were structurally articulated to

[45] *IGBulg* V 5584; Vagalinski 2009, 89-90, 147, Cat. #5; *Οἱ σκουτλάριοι ἀνέστησαν μνείας χάριν./ χαῖρε, παροδείτα.* The stele measured 0.55 x 0.55 x 0.04 m. It was found 1,500 m southwest of Augusta Traiana's walls.

bolster audiences' excitement and thus close consideration of performances' themes much like the same features in the theater. Sockets for netting were not attested at the arena's southern side, so the amphitheater does not seem to have hosted high-jumping cats as the theater did.

Fragments from statues of a panther and a bull were found in the square at the southwestern gate and so belonged to one or two monuments that the amphitheater prompted someone to dedicate in the square. This means either that evidence for netting at the amphitheater's southern side is no longer preserved or, more likely, that the panther was intended to generally recall animal hunts. In either case, the monument(s) to which these sculptures belonged captured and further conveyed to passersby traits or morals that the amphitheater showcased for spectators. Examples include bravery as it was displayed by a hunter or the moral that order (the trained hunter) triumphs over chaos (the wild animal).[46]

The relief-decorated piers at the southern side of the amphitheater's arena express the building's capacity to promote cultural values through gladiatorial battles. Four piers were found: two in the general area of the southwestern gate and two in a ditch outside the gate. They share the same form of an altar, but representations of heavy gladiator helmets are preserved on three of the piers. These three piers' relief fields are particularly similar. The relief on one of them shows a gladiator armed with a short sword and guarding the left side of his body with a tall rectangular shield; his helmet is on the ground in front of him (Fig. 112a).[47]

The fourth pier, on which a helmet is not preserved, bears a relief that is fairly different than that on the other three. Its gladiator stands facing the viewer and wears a tunic fastened at

[46] Nikolov 1987, 103; Popova 2017, 78-9; Nikolov does not include details or measurements of these fragments.

[47] Ivanov 2012, 475, Fig. 9; Popova 2017, 76-7, 95, Pl. VII, 1; Vagalinski 2009, 111, 201-3, Cat. #107-8, 114; The altars that bear helmets are similar in size (#107: 1.52 x 0.48 x 0.42 m; #108: 1.10 x 0.48 x 0.42 m; #114: 1.10 x 0.41 x 0.45 m). Vagalinski does not include pictures of two of these relief piers (#107-8) but notes that they are included in Dimitrov 1950, 204-5, Figs, 1, 3. He includes pictures of the unpublished fourth altar (#114) to represent the other two. Vagalinski holds that the four extant altars were funerary.

his waist with a wide belt. He is a *retiarius* since he holds a trident in his left hand (Fig. 112b). It is unclear what the object in his right hand is. Vagalinski suggests that it is a funerary torch, which would have been a reminder that a gladiator faced the possibility of death in his profession. Rumen Ivanov suggests more convincingly that it is a *rudis*, which signals that the *retiarius*' professional skill allowed him to take up a leading role in his gladiatorial troupe.[48]

Reliefs like those on the above piers once decorated the others on the southern side of the amphitheater's arena. Stone gladiator helmets may have topped many or all of these other piers. As for the orientation of these reliefs, those on the extant piers seem too small and shallow for spectators seated 10-20 m away in the amphitheater's *cavea* to have seen them clearly. Thus, the piers' reliefs most likely did not face the arena but the street to the southwestern gate instead.

Since the reliefs on the four extant piers focus on individual gladiators who are prepared for battle or victorious, they and the others that are missing were products of the amphitheater's potential to endorse certain values through the figure of the gladiator. The piers of course were installed before the amphitheater hosted gladiatorial games. Thus, it is more accurate to say that they manifested the expectations that Augusta Traiana's people and leaders had for the new entertainment venue they were constructing. When passersby considered the piers at or between performances, their reliefs were able to assist the amphitheater in encouraging spectators to reflect on various cultural values explored in gladiatorial battles. For example, the imagery on the four extant piers is formulated to prompt spectators to value the martial skill and courage displayed by gladiators and the idea that victory achieved through martial skill is praiseworthy.[49]

[48] Ivanov 2012, 475, Fig. 10; Nikolov 1987, 103, Fig. 14; Popova 2017, 95, Pl. VII, 1; Vagalinski 2009, 111, 202, Cat. #110; This pier measures 0.90 x 0.43 x 0.48 m.

[49] Popova 2017, 77-8.

Gladiatorial battles in the amphitheater also led to the production of three gladiatorial-themed monuments that were found together with two inscribed statue bases at the northern end of Augusta Traiana. The bases' inscriptions, which commemorate the tetrarchic Caesars Galerius and Constantius Chlorus, indicate that their statues and the monuments had decorated a temple dedicated to the tetrarchs in 303 AD (Fig. 24, #2). One of the monuments is an architrave frieze. A preserved section shows a gladiator with a short rectangular shield and a short straight sword, which he thrusts at a retreating *retiarius* (Fig. 113). This frieze, then, is similar to that introduced above in connection with Augusta Traiana's theater. Like this frieze did for the theater, this later one further conveyed to its viewers cultural values and lessons that spectators took away from gladiatorial games in the amphitheater. Judging from the frieze's extant portion, these values and lessons included catharsis through *otium*, martial skill, and the need for bravery in hardship. The other two monuments found with the architrave block were herms topped with gladiator helmets. Because of their iconography, they can be understood as material products of the amphitheater endorsing the concepts of virility and martial skill as beneficial to urban prosperity.[50]

The Political Function of Augusta Traiana's Amphitheater and Theater

Interpersonal encounters at performances in the amphitheater and theater also encouraged spectators and performers to shape Augusta Traiana according to how these encounters made them consider their political relationships with one another (e.g. their relative wealth, the respectability of their professions, and their respective legal statuses). Although an improvised entertainment venue, the amphitheater was equipped to host political interactions among

[50] Dikov 2015; Popova 2017, 62; Sharankov 2018, 105; Dikov does not provide pictures of the herms, but perhaps the helmets on top of them looked like that on one of the relief piers from the amphitheater (Fig. 112a). Besides the emperors' names, the bases' inscriptions would have been the same. The one dedicated to Galerius is intact and reads: *Principi iuventutiș/ Gal(erio) Val(erio) Maximiano/ noḅilissimo Caesari/ Aem(ilius) Alexander v(ir) p(erfectissimus) [[p]]/ praes(es) prov(inciae) Thrac(iae)/ d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestatique) eius.*

spectators and performers as effectively as the theater had. Moreover, like the amphitheaters with one-sided *caveae* at Serdica and Diocletianopolis, Augusta Traiana's amphitheater promoted senses of hierarchy and community much like a theater.

The podium wall and netting system of the amphitheater's *cavea* were able to reinforce a status distinction between spectators and performers through physical separation as these features did in the other amphitheaters and theaters in this study. Spectators were likely able to access the *cavea* from its sides and rear portico, but the three staircases in its podium wall are its only known points of ingress. Since these staircases needed to be blocked before gladiatorial battles or animal hunts in the arena, spectators who used them did so before performers approached the arena in preparation for their acts. This separation of movement, then, also could have highlighted performers' lower place in Augusta Traiana's social hierarchy.

At the same time, this separation in activity space and movement between spectators and performers cast the latter's profession as special, thus allowing them to rise in the former's estimation. The piers at the southern side of the arena indicates the capacity of the amphitheater to promote respect for gladiators and animal hunters from audience members, thereby countering its capacity to reinforce a sense of hierarchy. The piers' reliefs do not express esteem for individual gladiators, but they do manifest respect for the gladiatorial profession by highlighting the strength, dedication, and hard training it required. The architrave frieze and herms that decorated the temple of the tetrarchs similarly expresses this sense of respect. These decorations' use of gladiatorial imagery to represent imperial euergetism and military strength makes them potent manifestations of the amphitheater's capacity to garner respect for the gladiator among the public, including elites like the one(s) who funded the temple.

The gladiatorial-themed decoration of the temple of the tetrarchs – and so the whole temple to some extent – also manifests the amphitheater's capacity to promote a social hierarchy, particularly by encouraging loyalty to imperial authority. The amphitheater was able to encourage this allegiance by showcasing representatives of imperial authority, such as priests of the imperial cult, and by providing contexts for the acclamation of emperors and the presentation of their images. Again, judging from the temple's decorations, the tetrarchic emperors were acclaimed as benefactors and strong military leaders, for example. The temple was able to further prompt support for imperial authority – as it was exercised by local, provincial, diocesan, and prefectural leaders and by emperors themselves – through its use and physical presence as a monument. This was the intent of the dedicator of the statues to Galerius and Constantius Chlorus, the provincial governor Aemilius Alexander, who made his dedications for each Caesar's favor and majesty (*numina maiestatique eius*).[51] The amphitheater of course encouraged non-elite spectators to respect local elites by allocating them seats at the front of the *cavea* in full view of performers, each other, and the other spectators behind them.

The amphitheater was also structurally equipped to shape its urban landscape by prompting people to feel that they belonged to various sub-communities and a unified civic community. The relief-decorated piers at the amphitheater's southern side and the temple of the tetrarchs attest to the entertainment venue's capacity to inspire performers and spectators along these lines. The former was able to underscore for gladiators and animal hunters that the building's arena was a space in which they forged their identity. The latter stood to bolster civic pride as a monument to the renewal of Augusta Traiana's prosperity in the early 4th century AD.

[51] Dikov 2015; Popova 2017, 62; Sharankov 2018, 105.

Several finds from Augusta Traiana and its hinterland attest that the city's theater was as significant a focal point for political interactions as cultural ones. The aforementioned funerary stele the *σκουτλάριοι* dedicated, for example, is also a material expression of the theater's potential to promote counter-hierarchical esteem for gladiators among spectators of humble means. The theater's performances encouraged Augusta Traiana's elites to esteem gladiators for their training and skill as well. A bronze gladiator statuette (2nd – 3rd century AD) that decorated a chariot – a traditional symbol of elite identity among Thracians – of one of the city's elites expresses this. The 8 cm tall statuette, which is placed on a cylindrical base (4.5 cm tall and 3 cm in diameter), shows a *thrax* wearing his wide-brimmed helmet, right arm guard, *balneus* and *subligaculum*, and greaves. His helmet is ornately decorated with a griffin with its wings arrayed behind its head. His rectangular shield rests against his advancing left leg, and he holds back his short straight sword in his right hand (Fig. 114a). While this statuette was a chance find from Augusta Traiana's hinterland, the discovery of two similar statuettes with the remains of a chariot in the territory of Hadrianopolis demonstrates its use in the same way (Figs. 4, 114b-c).[52]

The gladiatorial chariot decoration from Augusta Traiana's hinterland is also a material product of the theater having bolstered local elites' places at the top of Augusta Traiana's social hierarchy. It demonstrates that the city's elites were able to cultivate renown and a traditional sense of elite Thracian identity by publicly appearing at gladiatorial games in the theater. Six statue bases that were dedicated to priests and priestesses of the imperial cult (*ἀρχιερεύς*

[52] The gladiator statuette from Augusta Traiana's territory was found in the village of Tulovo, c. 20 km north of Stara Zagora (Vagalinski 2009, 206, Cat. #127). The statuettes from the territory of Hadrianopolis were found at the village of Lyubimets near modern Svilengrad (Vagalinski 2009, 206-7, Cat. #128-9). They both show a heavy gladiator with a rectangular shield held against his body and a what would have been a short sword in his right hand.

δι'ὅπλων) in the early 3rd century AD demonstrate the same and that some of Augusta Traiana's elites also gained public support by funding animal hunts and gladiatorial games in the theater.[53]

Three of these statues commemorated the same Aurelius Teres, son of Skeles, whose *cognomen* and patronym reveal him to be Thracian by ethnicity. The inscription on two of these statues' extant bases is identical and honors Teres as a temple warden from youth (*νεωκόρος ἐν παιδὶ*), an imperial high priest (*ἀρχιερεύς δι'ὅπλων*), and "a patriot in all things" (*φιλόπατρις ἐν πᾶσι*).[54] The third statue base's inscription only calls Teres an imperial high priest but refers to his wife Aurelia Marcella, daughter of Beithynicus, as high priestess.[55] The city (*ἡ πατρίς*) dedicated a fourth monument to the imperial high priest M. Aurelius Apollodorus, son of Demosthenes, whose nomenclature suggests his family originated in a Greek community (either in a nearby region of the eastern Mediterranean or in Thrace along the northern Aegean or western Black Sea Coast).[56] Similarly, on behalf of the city's "most sovereign council and most sacred people" (*ἡ κρατίστη βουλῆ καὶ ὁ ἱερωτάτος δήμος*), the high priest (*ἀρχιερεύς*) Aurelius Demophilus, son of Chrestus, dedicated a statue to his mother-in-law, the "most worthy" imperial high priestess Septimia Seites. The names of both these public figures suggests that their family, too, had originated in a Greek cultural milieu. Given Septimia's position, the

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[53] Ivanov 2012, 471; Ivanov asserts that 13 such monuments that name 14 priests had been found by 2012.

[54] *IGBulg* III,2 1572; V 5560; Dimitrov 1950, 205-6; *[A]ὐρ(ήλιον) Τηρην Σκελη[τ]ος/ νεωκόρον ἐν παιδὶ/ καὶ ἀρχιερέα δι'ὅπλων,/ φιλόπατριν ἐν πᾶσι.* This base measures 0.57 x 0.74 x 0.46 m.; *IGBulg* V 5565: *Αὐρ(ήλιον) Τηρην Σκελητος/ νεωκόρον ἐν παιδὶ/ καὶ ἀρχιερέα δι'ὅπλων,/ φιλόπατριν ἐν πᾶ̣σ̣[ι].* This base measures 1.79 x 0.45 x 0.45 m.; Streinu 2018, 360; Vagalinski 2009, 146-7, Cat. #2-3, respectively; All of the inscriptions dedicated to Teres are plausibly dated to the early 3rd century AD post-212 AD (the Antonine Constitution) on the basis of his *nomen* "Aurelius."

[55] *IGBulg* V 5566; Andreeva 2014, 335, Cat. #II/380; Streinu 2018, ; 360Vagalinski 2009, 147, Cat. #4; *Αὐρ(ηλίαν) Μάρκελλαν/ Βειθυνικοῦ ἀρχιέριαν/ δι'ὅπλων, σύμβιον/ Αὐρ(ηλίου) Τηρου Σκελητος/ ἀρχιερέως δι'ὅπλων/ οἱ γονεῖς*. This monument measures 1.67 x 0.54 x 0.54 m.

[56] *IGBulg* III,2 1571; Dimitrov 1950, 205; Vagalinski 2009, 146, Cat. #1; *Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι./ Τὸν φιλότειμον/ ἀρχιερέα/ δι'ὅπλων/ Μ(ᾶρκον) Αὐρ(ήλιον)/ Ἀπολλόδωρον/ Δημοσθένους/ τειμήσασα/ ἡ πατρίς./ εὐτυχῶς*. This base is 2.06 x 0.64 x 0.70 m.

"glorious acts" (*τὰ δόξαντα*) she undertook for Augusta Traiana included games she offered in the theater.[57] The sixth statue base honors the imperial high priest, first *archon*, and priest of Roma M. Aurelius Asiaticus – seemingly the member of another immigrant family from a Greek city in Thrace or elsewhere in the Aegean – grandly and at length for his benefactions. He is noted as having presented games four times (*ἀρχιερεύς δι'ὅπλων τετράκις*).[58]

These six monuments convey the message that the elite individuals they commemorate deserve public recognition because of their benefactions. This is especially since all six monuments required the confirmation of the city council and perhaps civic assembly to be erected, even though only two monuments explicitly reference both governing bodies as their dedicators. These six monuments either lack provenance or were found in Late Antique constructions, but they were once displayed in public spaces like the agora or, in the case of Asiaticus, near the colonnade he commissioned at the northern end of Augusta Traiana (Fig. 24). When these monuments prompted passersby to remember the benefactions of public figures like Asiaticus, Septimia Seites, and Aurelius Teres, the entertainments these elites had funded would have stood out in viewers' minds because of their popular appeal. In this way, then, these material products of the theater's political function were able to help the entertainment venue

[57] Vagalinski 2009, 149, Cat. #8; *[Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ]./ Κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα τῇ κρατίστῃ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ/ δήμῳ τὴν ἀξιολογωτάτην ἀρχιέρειαν δι'ὅπλων/ Σεπτ(ιμίαν) Σειτην Αὐρ(ήλιον) Δημόφιλος Χρήστου ὁ ἀρχ[ιε-]/ ρεὺς τὴν πενθέραν*. This base is 0.93 x 0.28 x 0.58 m. Dated to 212-35 AD, it was reused as a curb in a Late Antique street.

[58] Andreeva 2014, 329; Vagalinski 2009, 148, Cat. #7; *Ἀγαθῇι τύχ[ηι]./ Τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντας φ[ίλον?]/ καὶ μόνον ἔργοις κοσμήσ[α-]/ ντα τὴν πατρίδα, (πρῶτον) ἄρχοντα/ καὶ ἀρχιερέα δι'ὅπλων τετρ[ά-]/ κις φιλότιμον, ἱερέα Ῥώμης,/ κατασκευάσαντα ἐκ τῶ[ν]/ ἰδίων τὴν ἐπιδίστεγον στοὰ[ν]/ ἐξηκοντακαιεξάστυλο[ν]/ καὶ τὴν δικείονα πρὸς τῷ/ Σευηριανῷ γυμνασίῳ ὁ-/ μοίως οἴκοθεν τριάκοντα/ καὶ πέντε κειόνων, Μ(ᾶρκον) Αὐρ(ήλιον)/ Ἀσιατικὸν ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐ-/ νοίας χάριν.* (For good fortune. [This statue of] M. Aurelius Asiaticus [is dedicated] in recognition of his excellence and benevolence. [He was] loved by all and outstanding in the works with which he decorated his homeland. [He was] first *archon*, an honored imperial high priest who offered games on four occasions, and a priest of Roma. With his own funds he built a two-story stoa with 66 columns and a double-aisled stoa with 35 columns in the Severan gymnasium.) This base (1.50 x 0.50 x 0.46 m) has been dated between 222 and the mid-3rd century AD.

convey the idea that a hierarchy based on wealth, profession, legal standing, etc., was vital to the success of urban life at Augusta Traiana, in Thrace, and across the Roman Empire.

The Religious Function of Augusta Traiana's Amphitheater and Theater

Evidence for the religious interactions accommodated in Augusta Traiana's amphitheater and theater is scarce, and much of it has been discussed already. Because of its gladiatorial-themed decoration, the temple of the tetrarchs is in part a material actor that the amphitheater helped to contribute to its urban landscape by promoting the imperial cult. Similarly, the monuments dedicated to imperial high priests are material actors that came out of the theater's capacity to inspire support for the imperial cult. The monument to M. Aurelius Asiaticus also suggests that not only the imperial family but also Roma was invoked at performances, through representatives, images, and acclamations, as a guarantor of Augusta Traiana's prosperity.

Invocations of deities in the theater also promoted Nemesis as an ally of urban life because of her authority over good fortune and law and order. The bottom half of a votive tablet dedicated to her was found in Augusta Traiana's southeastern corner (Fig. 22, #6). A wheel with *TYXH* spelled between its spokes identifies the *himation*-wrapped female figure in the tablet's relief as Nemesis. An inscription notes that the goddess' priest the Thracian T. Flavius, son of Skeles, set up the tablet; his name suggests that he did so at the end of the first or in the early 2nd century AD. Since Flavius was Nemesis' priest and styled himself as first among her devotees (*πρώτως καθιερούντων*), he would have ensured that he publicly endorsed her cult to the theater's audiences at animal hunts and gladiatorial games, the public entertainments that were so closely associated with the practice of her cult at cities across the Roman Empire (e.g. as at Philippi, Thasos, Heraclea Lyncestis, and Stobi). The theater, then, played a role in bringing

about Flavius' dedication. Once on-view, his votive offering was able to further promote Nemesis' worship at Augusta Traiana in tandem with the theater.[59]

The Economic Function of Augusta Traiana's Amphitheater and Theater

The existence of the monuments and architectural decorations that are discussed above attest to the theater and amphitheater's capacities to inspire economic interactions. Some of these interactions began in and around the entertainment venues at festivals. These interactions included the planning among the *σκουτλάριοι* that led them to honor a favorite gladiator or the conversations among local elites that prompted the commissioning of gladiatorial-themed sculpture for the temple of the tetrarchs. However, the sale near the amphitheater of consumer goods and foodstuffs for spectators is not well-attested.

Performances in the amphitheater most likely stimulated commerce in the stores along the street leading to the southwestern gate (Fig. 22). Vendors' stalls also may have been located on the southern side of this street across from the amphitheater. Coins from the square at the southwestern gate that are contemporary with the amphitheater (late 3rd – early 4th century AD) are small-value issues (e.g. *antoniniani* and *folles*). Like similar numismatic evidence from Serdica's amphitheater, these coins are consistent with the idea that commerce at stalls in the square or at stores leading to it entailed offerings of affordable everyday items and services.[60]

Public entertainments at Augusta Traiana's amphitheater ceased by the mid-4th century AD. Not long after this time the square that was its arena was repaved with limestone slabs, and

[59] *IGBulg* III,2 1601; Ivanov 2012, 473; 2006, 37; *In anaglypho: [Ἀ]γαθῆι/ In rota: τύχηι./ [ἱερ]ωμένου Τ(ίτου) · Φ(λαβίου) · Σκελητος κατ-/ . . .(.)νης · πρώτος καθιερούντων/ . . .(.)ν · ἀνέθ[ηκ]αν τὴν θεάν ‹Ν›έμεσ[ιν].* The tablet is now 0.27 m tall, 0.28 m wide, and 0.07 m thick. Ivanov mentions that other dedications to Nemesis were found but does not cite examples.

[60] Ivanov 2012, 479; Ivanov et al. 2006, 92; Minkova 2017, 102-3; As of 2012, 36 stores had been excavated along the street leading to the southwestern gate. Krasimir Kalchev suggests that the square here was a market area when the amphitheater was not in use.

an equestrian statue was installed at the square's center. The renovation of the square thus prohibited performances here. The renovation's *terminus post quem* is based on the find directly beneath the statue's base of a coin of Constantius II, which was minted at Cyzicus in 351-4 AD.[61] The square was a public space until the mid-5th century AD. At this time, modest houses occupied the square, as was the case with other entertainment venues in this study.[62] As is argued in Chapter Eight, such activity suggests that the square continued to shape urban life at Augusta Traiana in the 5th – 6th century AD through people's collective memory of the activities that had taken place in it earlier, a memory to which the amphitheater had significantly contributed.

With its irregularly designed amphitheater and little-known theater, Augusta Traiana presents a similar case study to Serdica in terms of gauging public entertainment venues' contributions to the interactions that constituted Thrace's leading local urban networks. Many questions remain about the architectural forms of the entertainment venues at both sites, but extant archaeological and epigraphic evidence does support the contention that they were multifunctional spaces and did participate productively in the interactions they hosted. Indeed, the case of Augusta Traiana's entertainment venues stands out because of the number of gladiatorial and venatorial-themed monuments that have been found across modern Stara Zagora. These finds suggest that public entertainments – gladiatorial battles and animal hunts in particular – and their venues played a significant constructive role in cultural, political, religious, and economic aspects of urban life for the population of Augusta Traiana. One hopes that the future discovery of the city's theater will further elucidate the complexity and extent of this role.

[61] Ivanov 2012, 480; Ivanov et al. 2006, 2; 2004, 305; Kalchev 2001, 110; Minkova 2017, 100-1; Popova 2017, 79; Vagalinski 2009, 79; The other coin found with that of Constantius II (4 Sz 8395) was minted at Constantinople in 328 AD; it depicts Constantine I (4 Sz 8396). There is debate over which emperor was represented in the statue.

[62] Ivanov 2012, 480, 483; Kalchev 2001, 110.

Conclusion

The multifaceted role that public entertainment venues played in Serdica and Augusta Traiana was broadly similar to that played by the same kinds of entertainment venues at Philippopolis and Diocletianopolis and the Macedonian cities in this study. In this way, then, the cases of the entertainment venues Serdica and Augusta Traiana further exemplify how a degree of standardization characterized urbanism in Roman Thrace in the late 1st – early 4th century AD. At the same time, there are significant architectural differences between these two cities' amphitheaters and between them and the amphitheaters at Diocletianopolis and Marcianopolis. Moreover, people's uses of Serdica and Augusta Traiana's entertainment venues brought about the proliferation of new material actors that, although similar in kind overall, reflect the overlapping cultural (e.g. Roman, Thracian, and Greek), civic, religious, and familial (etc.) identities of particular local elites and non-elites and suited these people's particular goals.

Thus, it would be an oversimplification to write off as inconsequential the persistent differences in the architectural forms (according to type) and shaping effects of the entertainment venues at Serdica and Augusta Traiana and this study's other main and comparison sites in Thrace (Philippopolis, Diocletianopolis, Maroneia, Nicopolis ad Istrum, and Marcianopolis). Subtle as they can be, these differences still indicate that it was to bolster the success of their own goals that diverse populations (according to factor such as wealth, profession, veteran status, origin, and legal status) at leading urban centers across Thrace looked to and adapted concepts of public entertainments that were understood across the Roman-controlled Mediterranean. Indeed, cities like Serdica, Augusta Traiana, Philippopolis, and Diocletianopolis prospered and had a leading role in shaping what urbanism meant across Thrace because the varied human and non-human actors whose interactions sustained these local urban networks effectively exploited connections with communities in near and farther regions of the Roman Empire.

In way of a postscript to this chapter's discussion of public entertainment venues' multifunctional mediation in Thrace, it is necessary to mention the hippodrome built at Byzantium in the urbanization horizon of the late 3rd – early 4th century AD.[63] More specifically, it was built between November 324 AD, when Constantine chose Byzantium as the Roman Empire's new capital, and May 11, 330 AD, when the city was formally dedicated.[64] The building was an integral part of an imperial palace complex like that built around two decades earlier at Thessalonica (Fig. 115). Like Thessalonica's hippodrome, then, Constantinople's was a prominent monument to and driver of Byzantium's transition into Constantinople.

Unlike Thrace's other entertainment venues and those in Macedonia, which were ruins by the first half of the 5th century AD, Constantinople's hippodrome hosted performances (mainly chariot racing but also animal hunts; athletic, acrobatic, and dancing displays; and dramatic performances like mimes) throughout and long after Late Antiquity.[65] The hippodrome thus shaped its city by hosting cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions much like

[63] Zos. II.30.2, 4; Bardill 2012a, 91, 94; Mango 2012, 37; 1985, 13, 16-7, 19-23; Pitarakis 2012, 15; Vespignani 2001, 84-5; Byzantium already had a theater, which was perhaps on the acropolis' eastern slope, and the Kynegion, which seemingly hosted animal hunts if not also gladiatorial combats. As Mango notes, the remains of pre-Constantine Byzantium are few and confined to the site's acropolis.

[64] Bardill 2012a, 93-4; Mango 2012, 37-8; 1985, 19, 26; Parnell 2014, 635; Vespignani 2001, 3; Most scholars now support this construction date, as is attested in the chapters that scholars like Brigitte Pitarakis, Cyril Mango, and Jonathan Bardill contributed to Pitarakis et al. 2012. Based on the works of 6th century AD historians like John Malalas (13.7), scholars traditionally held that the hippodrome's construction began in the early 3rd century AD when Septimius Severus supposedly funded new building projects across Byzantium. This idea has long seemed odd because it means that the hippodrome was unfinished for around 130 years and that Septimius changed his mind about Byzantium after he allowed the city to be severely damaged and its leaders and men of fighting age killed for siding with Pescennius Niger in 195 AD (Dio Cass. 74.14; Herod. 3.6.10). In support of the hippodrome's construction entirely in the second quarter of the 4th century AD are coins from the 1927 excavation of the hippodrome's *sphendona*, which date no earlier than Constantine's reign, and the fact that Constantinople's the palace complex with hippodrome parallels those built by the Tetrarchs across the Mediterranean.

[65] Mango 2012, 40-1; Parnell 2014, 633-4, 642; Pitarakis 2012, 19; Roueché 2012, 52, 56, 62; Roueché notes that the chariot factions employed a variety of performers besides charioteers and cites the example of the empress Theodora's father, who was a bear keeper for the Greens. She also notes that, according to the 10th century AD *Book of Ceremonies*, in the 4th century there were around 66 annual festivals that included chariot races and that this number had fallen to around 12 a year by the 10th century. The last known chariot races were presented by Alexius III (1200 AD). The hippodrome then gradually became ruined but occasionally held entertainments like jousting.

Macedonia and Thrace's entertainment venues had in the late 1st – early 4th century AD. Like the other hippodromes that were built with palace complexes across the Empire at the end of this time period, however, the hippodrome had a greater capacity to promote support for imperial authority among large cross-sections of Constantinople's inhabitants and visitors.

That being said, the hippodrome's multifunctional mediation is not explored in this study because the urban landscape it helped to shape in the 5th and 6th centuries AD was increasingly different from the cities this study's other entertainment venues had served between the late 1st and early 4th century AD. The next chapter does occasionally reference the hippodrome, however, since travelers' knowledge of the various interactions it accommodated were able to inform how inhabitants of this study's main sites in Macedonia and Thrace remembered the past functions of their ruined theaters, stadia, *odea*, amphitheaters, and hippodrome. Constantinople's hippodrome was thus able to inform the various reuses of these ruins in Late Antiquity.

CHAPTER EIGHT: PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENT VENUES AS ACTIVE PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF ROMAN URBANISM IN MACEDONIA AND THRACE (LATE 1st – 6th CENTURY AD)

Introduction

This chapter concludes this study of how public entertainment venues arose at leading urban centers across Macedonia and Thrace in the late 1st – early 4th century AD and then shaped these urban landscapes by accommodating a variety of interactions. It of course draws together the previous chapters' conclusions regarding specific entertainment venues and urban landscapes and underscores the meanings of these conclusions for urbanism in Early and Middle Roman Macedonia and Thrace. These summarizing efforts thus involve broadly revisiting the topic of the historical ties between Macedonia and Thrace before they became integrated into the Roman Empire and what these ties meant for urbanization in both regions during this process of integration/enrollment. Addressed in the next few pages, this chapter's summary of this study's main points also includes remarks about the utility of Actor-Network-Theory as a method for enhancing modern understandings of the lived experiences of Roman urbanism.

The second half of this chapter is an epilogue that augments this study's conclusions regarding Roman urbanism in Macedonia and Thrace and public entertainment venues' contributions to it. This epilogue briefly explores the forms of reuse – and their historical context – by which entertainment venues at this study's main sites continued to shape their urban landscapes in the 5th and 6th centuries AD. As was noted briefly in Chapters Four through Seven, entertainment venues in the provinces and then dioceses of Macedonia and Thrace no longer

hosted performances by the late 4th century AD.[1] From this time into the first half of the 5th century AD they became ruined to the extent that they could no longer be restored. They were then put to uses that at first seem divorced from their previous roles. In my view, however, this appearance is deceiving. I instead argue that the varied reuse of entertainment venues' ruins in the dioceses of Macedonia and Thrace, while practical, was driven by cities' collective memories of how these structures had regularly shaped urban life by mediating cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions in the 2nd – 4th century AD.[2] Just as entertainment venues' multiple functions had done in the past, their reuse in the 5th and 6th centuries AD contributed to the construction of distinctly local senses of urbanism that reflected and in turn sustained the complex mix of diverse local and interregional interactions that constituted new understandings of Roman urbanism in Late Antique Macedonia and Thrace.[3]

The Roles of Entertainment Venues in Roman Macedonia and Thrace

The first main goal of this study has been to promote wider scholarly interest in the archaeology of the geographically and historically linked ancient regions of Macedonia and Thrace, particularly when they were under Roman imperial control. In service of this goal, Chapters Two and Three address interactions in and between these regions (e.g. wars, political alliances, trade, and colonization) in the two centuries before each became a Roman province.

[1] When this chapter refers to "Macedonia and Thrace" in the late 3rd – 6th century AD, the Late Antique dioceses are understood.

[2] There are of course numerous recent studies on the subject of "spoliation" in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages in Europe. In past scholarship, the act of "spoliation" in its various forms was generally regularly understood as being driven primarily by practicality and indicative of a breakdown of human interconnectivity. Thus, scholars over the last c. 30 years have generally turned to terms like "reuse" to better capture the combination of practical and ideological considerations that determined if, how, and why ruined buildings and monuments persisted in new ways that bolstered interactions in urban and rural landscapes. See, for example, Brenk 1987, Alchermes 1994, Esch 2016, and Ng and Swetnam-Burland (edd.) 2018 (e.g. Ng and Swetnam-Burland 2018 and Bonde 2018).

[3] I will more fully address the topic of public entertainment venues as urban network actors in Late Antique Macedonia and Thrace in a forthcoming publication.

This was done to better acquaint the reader with the regions' entwined histories and to provide necessary context for this study's other two purposes.

Another primary goal of this study has been to explore what urbanism and its development looked like across both regions between the mid-2nd century BC and the early 4th century AD and particularly in the 1st – 3rd centuries AD. Drawing on Actor-Network-Theory (ANT), I understand urbanism to be a concentration at particular sites of a relatively high volume of varied interactions (i.e. a network) among numerous people who are diverse according to factors like wealth, profession, origin, and legal status. Inextricably intertwined in these people's interactions were numerous diverse environmental features and ideas, objects, and built spaces. In this study I thus embrace ANT's principle of radical relationality, which holds that objects and built spaces have a sense of agency (i.e. a capacity to effect change) because associations between people extend beyond the human participants themselves into the objects and spaces they use. As outcomes of particular human interactions and the ideas they generated, these material actors (aka technologies) are able to prompt the same and similar kinds of interactions (and the spread of the same and similar associated ideas) among the people who use them.

This study's adherence to the principle of radical relationality also explains why it has occasionally referenced small finds like ceramic lamps with gladiatorial decorations and tablewares imported from Italy as meaningful characteristics of and participants in urban life. The artifacts that this study presents as evidence for urbanization in Early Roman Macedonia (Chapter Two) and Pre- and Early Roman Thrace (Chapter Three) or for the cultural function of these regions' entertainment venues certainly did not only circulate in urban centers.[4] The local production and trade of such goods, however, were consistently associated in high numbers with

[4] The rich artifact dedications in the necropolis of Augusta Traiana's Chatalka Villa attests to this, for example.

interactions at expanding and established local urban networks in the provinces of Macedonia and Thrace. When considered in context, then, these artifacts are as valid hallmarks of urban life as the honorific monuments, grid-planned streets, fortification walls, and public entertainment venues, for example, around which they were found and contemporaneously used.

The third main goal of this study has been to explore the various kinds of interactions hosted by public entertainment venues in Macedonia and Thrace in order to address how Roman administrative control influenced the material and ideological characteristics of urbanism in these regions in the late 1st – early 4th century AD. Entertainment venues (theaters, *odea*, *stadia*, amphitheaters, and hippodromes) are useful for this purpose because they were features of more complex urban landscapes across the Roman Empire. They reflected advanced urban complexity in their capacity to accommodate large numbers of their cities' diverse inhabitants and visitors and multiple kinds of interactions among these diverse people, which can broadly be categorized as cultural, political, religious, and economic.

The same is true of other monumental public spaces like the agora. In my view, the entertainment venue is a more appealing lens through which to study urbanism in Roman Macedonia and Thrace. Roman entertainment venues indicate a region's most complex local urban networks; all urban centers across the Roman Empire had an agora or forum, but only the larger ones had entertainment venues. Furthermore, the popular appeal of public entertainments as opportunities for emotional and intellectual stimulation gave these structures greater potential to provoke interactions of various kinds among diverse audience members and performers. This is especially the case when one considers that public entertainments like dramatic performances, gladiatorial games, animal hunts, and athletic displays – particularly when presented over more than one consecutive days – allowed sustained proximity among large cross-sections of people to

a degree not encountered in everyday urban life. Entertainment venues in Macedonia and Thrace and across the Roman Empire were thus architecturally equipped to be significant active participants in multiple aspects of the many different human lives that constructed urbanism in their cities and provinces in the late 1st – early 4th century AD.[5]

To demonstrate this, Chapters Four to Seven assembled bodies of diverse forms of material evidence (e.g. consumer goods, honorific and funerary monuments, architectural decorations, and built spaces) from cities across the provinces and then dioceses of Macedonia and Thrace. In some cases, this evidence confirms how entertainment venues shaped their urban landscapes while in other cases it advances probable scenarios. The latter cases underscore that gaps in available structural and artifactual evidence – whether because of destructive activity in antiquity, limited excavations, or poor documentation in previous excavations – prompt many questions regarding entertainment venues' roles as multifunctional urban network actors. It is still unclear, for example, what kinds of commercial exchange Stobi's theater prompted in its immediate surroundings or what the full range of the performances hosted by the *odea* at Thessalonica, Dion, and Philippopolis looked like. Future excavations at this study's main and comparison sites (Tables 2 – 4) and at other sites in Bulgaria, northern Greece, and North Macedonia will undoubtedly help to provide answers to these questions. In the meantime, however, this study has aimed to promote Actor-Network-Theory as a useful theoretical and methodological basis for generating educated hypotheses concerning the multifaceted lived experiences of public entertainment venues and their urban landscapes.

Overall, the structural, artifactual, epigraphic, and literary evidence marshalled in this study highlights that Roman public entertainment venues hosted a variety of cultural, political,

[5] Zanker 2000, 37-40.

religious, and economic interactions. As was noted in the introduction, this broad understanding of these structures' capacities is increasingly more prevalent in scholarship on them and the entertainments they hosted but has often been understated in the past.[6] Even more significantly, the evidence demonstrates that people's interactions with and in these buildings actively provoked further interactions and generated artifacts, monuments, and built spaces. In their decoration, inscriptions, or uses, these material features suggest the kinds of people involved in these interactions and the ideas these people's encounters with one another produced. Thus, the evidence supports my contention that, through their multifunctionality, entertainment venues played a significant role in shaping the human and non-human actors whose interactions constituted urban life in Roman Macedonia and Thrace.

Comparison of the forms of this study's entertainment venues and the material effects of these structures' multifunctional mediation demonstrate that urbanism in both regions meant interactions among broadly similar yet locally variable human and material actors. The biggest difference between the two regions as far as entertainment venue architecture is concerned is that amphitheaters were built in Thrace but not in Macedonia. As was noted in Chapter Six, this may have had something to do with the greater presence in northern Thrace and adjacent Moesia Inferior of active soldiers and veterans associated with wars along the Danube in the later 3rd – 4th century AD. Otherwise theaters were the most common entertainment venue followed by *odea*, *stadia*, and hippodromes, the last two of which were few in number in Macedonia (Thessalonica and Dion) and Thrace (Philippopolis, Perinthus, and Constantinople). All these structures were generally similar in form according to type but at a local level displayed a high degree of variation in their architectural components and decoration.

[6] See the introduction section "Public Entertainment Venues as Monumental Products of Urbanism" for a discussion of examples of current and past scholarship on Roman public entertainment venues.

These comparisons reflect how numerous interregional ties between Macedonia and Thrace's urban centers and those in neighboring and farther regions of the Roman Empire and participation in a Roman imperial network created a standard repertoire of public building types. Across the Empire this repertoire generally employed structural components and decorative schemes based on Greek architectural traditions. The long-standing familiarity of communities in Macedonia and Thrace with Greek cultural elements (e.g. architectural forms, elite practices like *symposia*, and ritual traditions) added further prominence to this source of inspiration. For example, theaters in these provinces looked predominantly to Greek architectural tradition and less to Italian theater design elements. In their architecture, then, this study's entertainment venues demonstrate that Roman administrative control greatly expanded the use of a common language of monumentality to Macedonia and Thrace that was highly adaptable to these regions' shared histories and local topographical, cultural, and political concerns.

The human and material actors that entertainment venues helped to introduce to their local urban networks were likewise largely the same in kind but different in detail. These new actors included various performers; consumer goods; honorific and funerary monuments; architectural decorations for public buildings; buildings like baths, another entertainment venue, and stores; and built spaces like streets, colonnades, and mosaic flooring. Like entertainment venues' forms, then, the appearances and functional roles of these new actors also attest to a common language of Roman urbanism in Macedonia and Thrace.

In the various ways it helped to bring cities' populations together, this shared language provided various opportunities for individuals and groups of people to express themselves. The multivalent mediation of this study's public entertainment venues attests to this capacity. At Heraclea Lyncestis, for example, the theater's promotion of the cult of Nemesis and the

proliferation of honorific monuments inspired Julia Tertulla's expression of her piety and hope for her city's future prosperity through the statue and inscribed base she dedicated to Nemesis. Meanwhile, Thessalonica's theater-stadium and the honorific and funerary monuments it helped to produce gave voices to elites like Ti. Claudius Rufrius Meno and his wife Baebia Magna as well as the city's resident and visiting gladiators like Nepotianus Amyntianus and Lupercus the *thrax*. In Thrace, gladiatorial games at Augusta Traiana prompted a group of *σκουτλάριοι* to express in stone their admiration for an unnamed *secutor*. These performances and the undiscovered venue that hosted them also suggested the figure of the gladiator to elites in eastern-central Thrace as a new symbol of strength and bravery. This development is seen in how these elites affixed these symbols in the form of bronze figurines to their chariots, a traditional Thracian symbol of the same and related qualities. For Philippopolis, assemblies and performances in the theater – and the numerous honorific monuments they occasioned – proved to be significant opportunities through which the city advertised its prominent regional status.[7]

Such examples of the individuals and groups of people who benefited in some way from public entertainments and their venues highlight the broad appeal of urban life in general in Roman Macedonia and Thrace in the late 1st – 4th century AD. Through frequent, multifaceted, and exhibitory involvement in city life, Macedonian and Thracian elites (native-born and transplanted) gained renown at local and regional scales. For elites like Rufrius Meno and Baebia Magna who were honored in civic monuments for patronizing the entertainment venues in this study, this renown is particularly reflected in the official endorsements they and their families

[7] For Julia Tertulla's dedication to Nemesis at Heraclea see Chapter Four; the monuments of Ti. Claudius Rufrius Meno and Baebia Magna and Nepotianus Amyntianus and Lupercus at Thessalonica Chapter Five; the *σκουτλάριοι*'s dedication and gladiator chariot decorations from Augusta Traiana Chapter Seven; and the monuments connected with the theater at Philippopolis Chapter Six.

received from the Roman emperor and Senate (e.g. Roman citizenship before the Antonine Constitution and offices linked to imperial authority like imperial high priest).

As the funerary monuments of Nepotianus Amyntianus and Lupercus attest, even non-elites as socially disadvantaged as performers and those who facilitated or managed their work were able to gain a measure of wealth and standing from participation in city life. In the case of these non-elites, however, the high-risk and often imposed (by slavery or dire financial straits) context of staging public entertainments afforded this gain. Then there is the gradually emerging material evidence from the surroundings of entertainment venues in Macedonia and Thrace for the merchants and craftsmen whose livelihoods depended on cities' appeal as focal points for cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions, particularly during religious festivals.[8] Other non-elites benefited from urban life in many other ways. This study's look at the various ideas exchanged in Macedonia and Thrace's entertainment venues suggest benefits such as safety from natural and human threats, better access (through employment or euergetism) to wealth that accrued at cities, and a sense of purpose that came with participation in a civic community.

In sum, this study's focus on public entertainment venues demonstrates that Macedonia and Thrace were much more alike in terms of the number, spread, size, and character of their urban landscapes in the late 1st – early 4th century AD than in the previous four centuries. Integration into a Roman imperial network was thus a significant catalyst for the development of more numerous and sustained connections of various kinds at and between communities across both regions. These connections frequently involved people, objects, structures, and ideas that also characterized urbanism in neighboring and farther regions of the Roman Empire, as has just

[8] As I have noted in previous chapters (ex. in my discussion of the economic function of Philippi's theater in Chapter Four), this emerging evidence is supported by parallel artefactual and structural remains around entertainment venues in other provinces.

been reiterated with regard to the forms and shaping effects of Macedonia and Thrace's entertainment venues. Chapters Two and Three stress this point in connection with urbanization that preceded the modification and construction of these structures. The similarities between the human and non-human actors that characterized urbanism in Macedonia and Thrace and those that did so in the other regions of the Roman Empire thus warrant the label "Roman" for this regionally and locally variable and diachronically fluid sense of urbanism.

On the one hand, Roman urbanism developed in Macedonia and Thrace with the urging of Roman emperors and governors who wanted these regions' interactions concentrated at certain points to facilitate Roman political and military control. On the other hand, a wide variety of people who had been born in Macedonia and Thrace or who had moved from other regions near and far sought and bolstered urbanization for their own benefit. In other words, Roman governors and emperors to some extent imposed increased urbanization on Macedonia and Thrace; however, this does not explain why urbanism emphatically endured and continued to develop at the complex local urban networks covered in this study. This study's focus on public entertainment venues' participation in cities' cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions demonstrates that communities across Macedonia and Thrace embraced Roman urbanism because of the opportunities it afforded for the expression of a wide variety of human experiences. At Macedonia and Thrace's largest urban centers, this resulted in a dense mix of human and material characteristics of interregional, regional, and local origin.[9]

[9] Hanson 1997, 75-8; Roth 2007, 7-9; Whittaker 1997, 152 ("The final result was a complex relationship between central command, persuasion, and the evolution of local cultures."). See also ftn. 27 in the introduction for references to other sources on the relationships among imperial, regional, and local influences in the Roman Empire.

Late Antiquity and Ruined Entertainment Venues in Macedonia and Thrace

The end of the 4th century AD does not mark the end of the story for public entertainment venues serving as urban network actors in the dioceses of Macedonia and Thrace. Although the Late Antique continuation of this story cannot be told in full here, the rest of this chapter explores the complex mix of factors that led entertainment venues in Macedonia and Thrace to continue to shape their urban landscapes in the 5th and 6th centuries AD through reuse. The materials and spaces of Macedonia and Thrace's entertainment venues were predominantly reused for new public structures, simple non-elite neighborhoods, and Christian churches.

This varied reuse exemplifies three competing factors that drove transformation of the ideas and forms of urban life across the increasingly politically fragmented Roman Empire. The first factor was the need for towns and cities to adapt to new safety and financial constraints. As histories of the Late Antique Roman Empire have long (over-)emphasized, periodic large-scale raids and mass migrations of peoples who lived outside the Empire were significant concerns for every province. These events threatened urban life on local and regional scales in forms like the death and displacement of human actors, damage to cities' built features, and the disruption of people and goods' movement in urban centers' hinterlands. The Gothic raids into Macedonia and Thrace in the mid-3rd century AD have already been noted. Macedonia and Thrace were entry regions for subsequent invasions by peoples like the Visigoths and Ostrogoths (e.g. 376-8, 395, 403-6, 471, 487), Huns (440s AD), and Slavs and Avars (e.g. 517, 550s AD).[10]

As across the Empire, then, imperial administration and urban centers in Macedonia and Thrace spent a lot of material and human resources to guard against such threats. They did not

[10] Dumanov 2015, 96; Gerasimovska 2015, 256-7; Liebeschuetz 2001, 76; Sodini 2007, 313; Snively 2015, 554-7; Topalilov 2014b, 223-4, 231; 2012, 12; Velkov 1977, 34, 36-7, 41-59; "Barbarian" raids and migrations were of course not the only draws on urban centers' resources. Threats like plague (as in 5th century AD Italy) and natural disasters (e.g. earthquakes and famine) also imposed safety and financial constraints on cities across the Empire.

have these resources to spend on pursuits like public entertainments and newly quarried stone for renovations and new public structures. The use of entertainment venues across Macedonia and Thrace as cost-effective and expedient quarries for building projects attests to the need to adapt to new financial and safety constraints, particularly when one considers that these projects were commonly more utilitarian like fortifications and streets.[11]

The emergence – through human intent and circumstance – of drastic changes to community organization was the second factor that competed to transform Roman urbanism in the 4th through 6th centuries AD. These changes gradually reshaped the cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions that constituted local urban networks across the Roman Empire and the dioceses of Macedonia and Thrace. These changes were generally caused by the reorganization of the Roman Empire's provinces into a new system of smaller provinces, dioceses, and prefectures in the late 3rd – early 4th century AD; greater wealth disparity between elites and non-elites; and the rising popularity of Christianity among urban populations.

The reorganization of the Roman Empire into provinces, dioceses, and prefectures increased the size of the imperial bureaucracy and the participation of regional governors in cities' interactions. Regional imperial authorities and the emperor thus gained an increased role in local urban networks' administration.[12] Imperial laws that address the reuse of old public buildings across the Empire reflect this development since they came out of correspondences between the emperor and governors who travelled around their provinces' cities. These laws do

[11] Brown 1992, 84, 86; Christie 2009, 228; Lavan 2001, 20; Liebeschuetz 2001, 29-30, 40; Sodini 2007, 314-5, 318; Velkov 1977, 205-6.

[12] Dumanov 2015, 92; Lavan 2001, 17; Liebeschuetz 2001, 14; Velkov 1977, 62-6, 70-1, 77; The split of civil and military responsibilities between different officials beginning in the 4th century AD compounded this increased role of regional imperial authorities in cities' administration.

not directly address cases in the dioceses of Macedonia and Thrace, but they strongly suggest that their cities similarly conceived of the reuse of old buildings, like entertainment venues.[13]

Greater wealth disparity between elites and non-elites further changed the local governments in which regional governors were more active participants. Because more and larger financial burdens fell on local elites in the 4th century AD, the elite communities that formerly led cities as councilors and benefactors decreased in size. By the end of this century, small cadres of highly wealthy landowners (*principales*) governed their cities on a more informal basis instead. Despite their wealth, they were still dependent on and so worked closely with regional civic and military officials to provide benefactions. While local urban administration in Macedonia and Thrace consolidated in the hands of a wealthy few, the non-elites who comprised most of cities' gradually smaller populations were generally of humble means. The stark contrast between elite and non-elite urban residences particularly manifested this greater hierarchical simplicity. Elites lived in residences that spanned a city block, but non-elites occupied simple, rubble-built, agglutinative neighborhoods over former public spaces like entertainment venues.[14]

Christianity's growing popularity among urban populations granted a technically informal but significant role in civic administration to bishops. Bishops became advisors to city leaders as well as civic ambassadors and benefactors. Moreover, urban populations' growing

[13] Alchermes 1994, 172-3; For examples of 4th century AD imperial laws on the upkeep of old public buildings see Pharr 1952. In one edict issued by Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius to Constantinople's prefect in 389 AD (*CTh* 15.1.25; Pharr 1952, 426), for example, the construction of private buildings against old public ones is condemned since the latter are the "ornament of public splendor" (*publici splendoris ornarum*) and the "adornment of the city" (*urbis decus*). Another edict issued to the prefect of Italy, Africa, and Illyria in 365 AD (*CTh* 15.1.16; Pharr 1952, 425) calls for old public buildings to be restored "to their pristine appearance and to an appropriate and useful function" (*ad speciem pristinam et usum congruae utilitatis instaurent*).

[14] Bintliff 1997, 80-1; Bowden 2001, 66-7; Brown 1992, 82-3, 150; Dumanov 2015, 92, 99-100; Gerasimovska 2015, 259-60, 262; Lavan 2001, 16, 22; Liebeschuetz 2001, 3-4, 14-5, 108, 110, 112; Sodini 2007, 327, 331; Snively 2010, 566; Velkov 1977, 77-9; Anastasius I called for cities across the Empire to set up town councils composed of the bishop, large landowners, and *curiales* in 505 AD (*Cod. Just*. 1.4.17) and again in 545 AD (*Nov. Just.* 128). The use of many large elite residences began in the early 4th century AD.

acceptance of Christianity over the 4th – 6th centuries AD's meant their interactions were increasingly organized around Christian churches and practices. Churches were often built around city centers near and on ruined public buildings and used these structures' materials. As at this study's main sites in Macedonia and Thrace, entertainment venues' space and materials were commonly reused in this way. The non-elite neighborhoods built over entertainment venues and so also near churches seemingly underscore these churches' importance as centers for elite benefactions reinterpreted through the concept of Christian charity.[15]

The third factor that competed to guide the changes of Late Antique Roman urbanism, which the reuse of entertainment venues in Macedonia and Thrace also represents, was city leaders and imperial authorities' desire to recall past urban prosperity in their interactions and the material forms they used. The decoration of the *spina* of Constantinople's hippodrome exemplifies this desire. According to literary descriptions of the *spina*, many of its bronze statues represented mythological figures like Hercules, Athena, Zeus, Nike, and the Dioscouri and monsters like the Nemean Lion, Calydonian Boar, and Scylla. As polytheism gradually lost adherents in urban populations across the Mediterranean over the 5th and 6th centuries AD, for the hippodrome's audiences such statues became exhortations to traditional moral values instead of cult objects.[16] As consular diptychs from Constantinople attest, the desire to derive present value from the ways of the past is further seen in the imperial bureaucracy's preservation of

[15] Bowden 2001, 66; Bowes 2014, 109; Brown 1992, 76-8, 90-1, 146-8, 151; Christie 2009, 226; Dumanov 2015, 98, 100; Gerasimovska 2015, 257, 260; Lavan 2001, 17; Liebeschuetz 2001, 4, 116; Sodini 2007, 326, 328; Velkov 1977, 75; Yasin 2009 (on the Cult of the Saints and the activities it entailed at churches); Bishops' residences next to cities' main basilicas also hosted some of the activity at these churches.

[16] Bardill 2012b, 149, 168-9, 180-2; Mango 2012, 39; Pitarakis 2012, 10; Vespignani 2001, 109-12, 127-31; Examples of the literary accounts that list the statues on the *spina* are *Parastaseis, Patria,* Nicetas Choniates' *De signis Constantiopolitanis*, Robert of Clari's *The Conquest of Constantinople*, and records of inscriptions in the *Palatine* and *Planudean Anthologies*. Besides the Serpent Column, the only surviving statuary from the *spina* are the four bronze horses that are now at St. Marco in Venice and the bronze goose at the British Museum.

magistracies like the consulship that had little actual authority.[17] Imperial laws reveal emperors and regional imperial authorities' attempts both to help preserve older public buildings across the Empire and to guide the reuse of their materials and spaces when they had become ruined.

Moreover, while most entertainment venues across the Roman Empire no longer hosted performances by the late 4th century AD, some of these structures continued to do so. Constantinople's hippodrome is the best example of this continuity. Entertainment venues at other cities across the Mediterranean like Rome, Ravenna, Sirmium, Antioch, Aphrodisias, and Thessalonica were also maintained and held performances into the 5th or 6th century AD. Many of these cities were regional capitals like Constantinople and so also continued hosting festivals because they had better access to imperial funds and larger communities of wealthier elites.[18]

These cities thus refute the outdated notion that emperors' endorsement of Christianity and the religion's growing popularity among urban populations constituted the main reason for the end of public entertainments in most of the Roman Empire's cities. This notion is based on the misconception that urban centers across the Mediterranean quickly became predominantly Christian in the 4th century AD. There is also the simplification that Church leaders thought that public entertainments promoted only morally deleterious ideas linked to the worship of "pagan" deities.[19] Additionally, the above notion erroneously accepts that most elites and non-elites similarly felt that public entertainments were wholly pagan and so readily spurned them.

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[17] Pitarakis 2012, 18, 253, Pl. 6; One diptych (0.39 m tall and 0.135 m wide) honors the *consul ordinarius* of 506 AD. The ivory diptych's relief shows Areobindus presiding over animal hunts in the hippodrome. An inscription records that he was count of the sacred stables and commander of imperial forces in the east before he was *consul*: *EX C(omite) SAC(ri) STAB(uli) ET M(agister) M(ilitum) P(er) OR(ientem) EX C(onsule) C(onsul) OR(dinarius)*.

[18] Christie 2009, 223, 229; Liebeschuetz 2001, 206, 219; Lim 1999, 271-3; Vespignani 2001, 177; Liebeschuetz notes that public entertainments ended in in the eastern Mediterranean, except at Constantinople, in the 7th century AD and in the western Mediterranean largely at the end of the 4th century AD.

[19] Christie 2009, 223-4, 230; Lim 1999, 267; Remijsen 2015, 182; Tertullian was particularly emphatic in his *De spectaculis liber* that he felt all aspects of public entertainments were tied to the worship of pagan deities.

Granted, Constantine and later emperors' interactions with Christian leaders helped to fuel prohibitions against gladiatorial games, which played a role in the end of gladiatorial battles in most of the Empire's cities in the 4th century AD. The prohibitions against athletic festivals of later Christian emperors like Theodosius I likewise contributed to the end of these entertainments by the mid-5th century AD. Still, the cases of cities like Constantinople demonstrate that other factors helped to determine if cities continued to host public entertainments: the availability of sufficient local elite and imperial funding, sizeable enough audiences to justify the expense, and emperors and regional administrators' desire to garner acclaim through the provision of games.[20]

Thus, as with many other material forms and ideas that could have been deemed "pagan," there is no easy answer for why public entertainments characterized Roman urbanism into Late Antiquity for varying lengths of time and at particular sites. Public entertainments' continued relevance depended on various actors and interactions. For example, polytheism was still common among people who lived in cities and their hinterlands into the first half of the 5th century, even though their worship was not publicly supported by the end of the 4th century AD.

For cities with large Christian communities, the clergy and laity were split on what ideas and material forms from the past – and what aspects of them – were morally deleterious. The condemnation of the bishops Uranius and Ibas at the Second Council of Ephesus (449 AD) for having close ties to chariot faction supporters and mimes demonstrates both that leaders of the Christian Church were expected to abstain from the hippodrome's performances and that some of them disregarded this expectation. Similarly, Church fathers' warnings about the corruptive

[20] Christie 2009, 223-4; Liebeschuetz 2001, 204, 220; Mikulčić 2007, 71; Remijsen 2015, Chapter 8; See Remijsen's 2015 book for comprehensive coverage of the end of athletics in Late Antiquity.

influence of chariot races indicate both that some ecclesiastical authorities were vehemently against these performances and that many of the Christian laity still attended them.[21]

Other literary evidence further indicates that many Christian elite and non-elite laypersons alike still found public entertainments praiseworthy where they were offered in the late 4th – 6th century AD. Leontius the prefect of Constantinople in 434-5 AD wanted to hold Olympic games in Chalcedon despite protests of the abbot Hypatius. Symmachus the prefect of Rome requested that the emperors Theodosius and Arcadius fulfill their promise to fund chariot races and dramatic performances in the old capital.[22] Such literary evidence bolsters the likelihood that Christians at this study's main sites in Macedonia and Thrace reflected positively on their defunct entertainment venues to some extent.

Some entertainment venues' continued accommodation of performances, cities' attempts to preserve other old public buildings, the maintenance of impotent magisterial titles, and references to Greco-Roman myth are a few examples of how practices and material forms from the preceding few centuries still characterized Late Antique Roman urbanism. All these aspects of continuity were motivated by civic leaders and urban populations' intent (consciously and subconsciously) to use highly symbolic vestiges of past urban prosperity to promote prosperity in the present. Thus, the same spirit should be seen as having fueled the varied reuse – for new

[21] Brown 1992, 134; Laurence et al. 2011, 245; Liebeshuetz 2001, 218; Lim 1999, 267-8; Remijsen 2015, 195; Vespignani 2001, 170, 177; See, for example, the sermons of St. Leo Magnus (*Sermo* 84,1 in *P.G.* LIV, col. 433), John Chrysostom (*C. ludos et theatra* 1-2), or Tertullian's *De spactaculis*. That Christian laypersons attended public games for leisure is acknowledged in Novatian's *De spectaculis* (1.3).

[22] Alchermes 1994, 170-2; Bowes 2014, 107; Brown 1992, 126, 128-9; Christie 2009, 223; Lim 1999, 268-70; Remijsen 2015, 182; Vespignani 2001, 140; Brown and Remijsen note the example of Leontius (Callinicus, *Life of Hypatius* 33). Lim mentions letters from and to Christian emperors in the 4th century AD that specify entertainments were still popular among urban populations (ex. *CTh* 16.10.17: Arcadius and Honorius to the proconsul of Africa; Symm. *Rel.* 6: Symmachus' letter). Vespignani calls attention to Chrysostom's *Oratio de circo* as an example of how even Church fathers found some good in public entertainments. In this sermon he compares the Church to a heavenly racetrack (*δρόμος οὐράνιος*) or spiritual stadium (*στάδιον πνευματικόν*) and makes God a charioteer.

public structures, Christian churches, and simple non-elite neighborhoods, for example – of defunct civic monuments as symbolic of urban vivacity as entertainment venues.[23]

In the end, the varied reuse of ruined public entertainment venues in the late 4th – 6th century dioceses of Macedonia and Thrace promotes the idea that these structures' previous multifunctional participation in urban population's interactions left a lasting impression on these communities' collective memories. It was this multifaceted impression that drove the reuse of ruined entertainment venues at cities like Philippi, Heraclea Lyncestis, Stobi, and Thessalonica in Macedonia and Philippopolis, Diocletianopolis, Serdica, and Augusta Traiana in Thrace and thus allowed these structures to guide the emergence and fluid development of new senses of Late Antique urbanism across Macedonia and Thrace. Just as in previous centuries, then, in Late Antiquity public entertainment venues participated in the cultural, political, religious, and economic interactions that constituted their urban landscapes in ways that reinforce the understanding of Roman urbanism that underlies this dissertation. Inspired by Actor-Network-Theory, this understanding is that Roman urbanism was characterized by multivalent, diachronically variable interactions among diverse yet to some extent standardized people, objects, structures, and ideas that coalesced to form complex, highly connected local urban networks across the Mediterranean between the 1st and 6th century AD.

[23] Bonde 2018, 208-9.

FIGURES

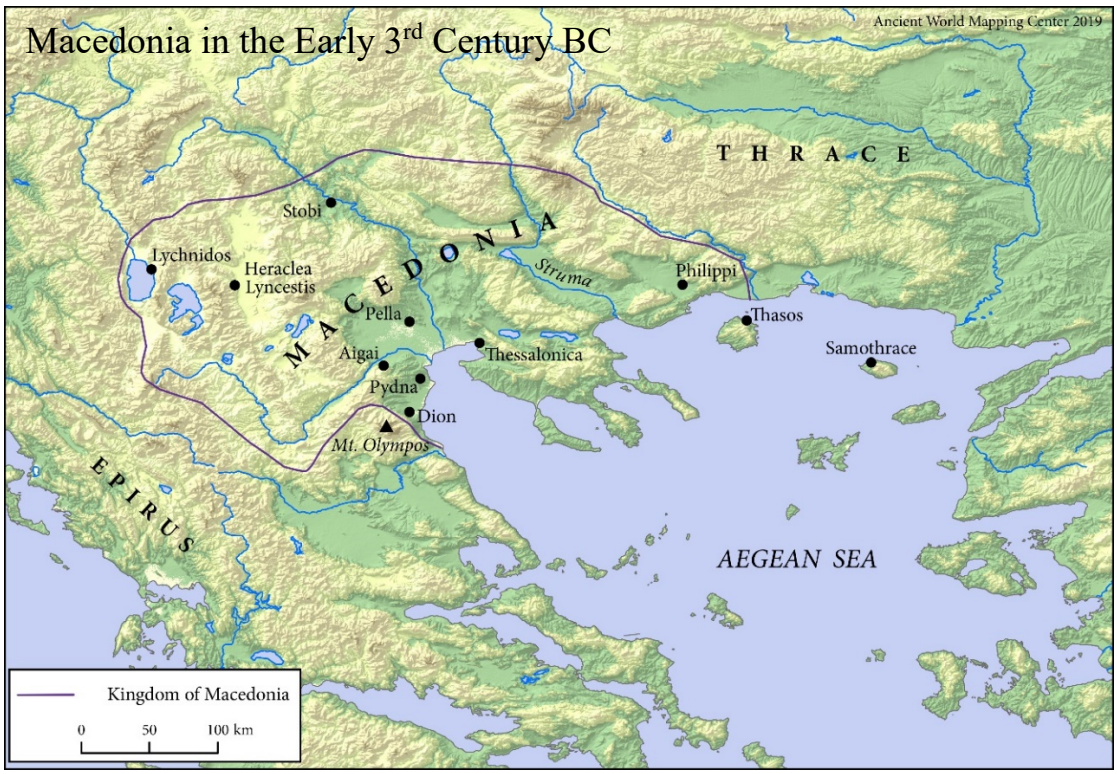

Figure 1: Macedonia in the early 3rd century BC.

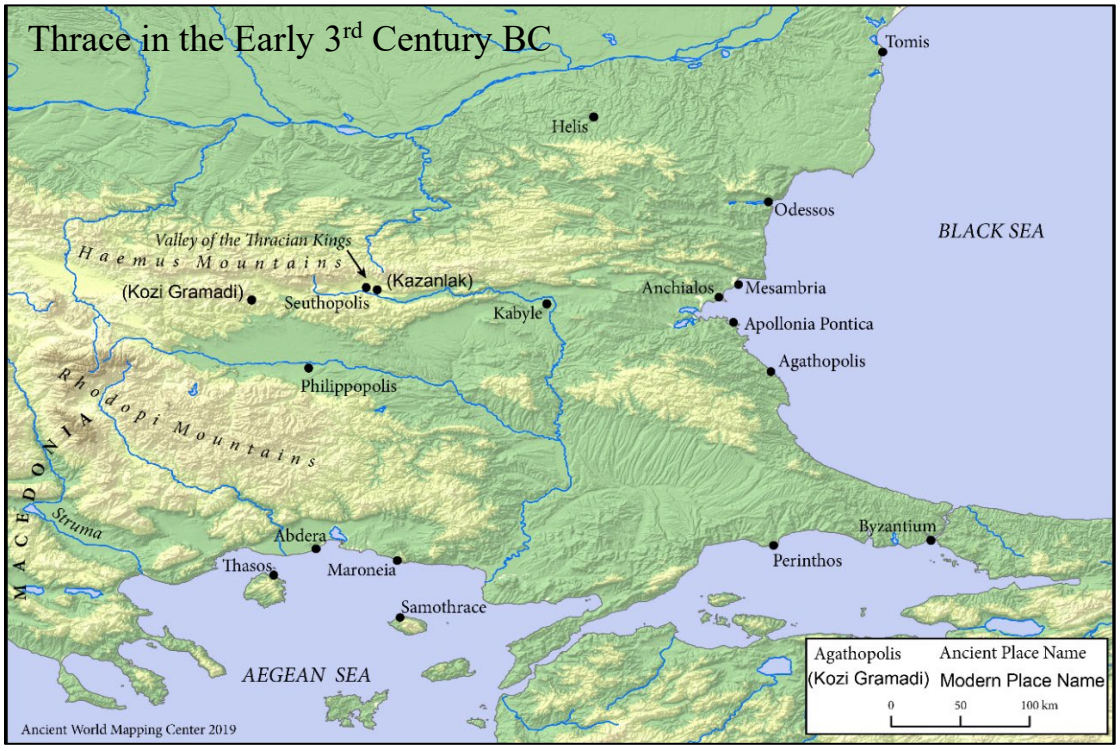

Figure 2: Thrace in the early 3rd century BC.

Figure 3: Roman Macedonia and its larger urban centers in the early 2nd century AD.

Figure 4: Roman Thrace and its larger urban centers in the early 2nd century AD.

Figure 5: Prefectures and dioceses of the eastern half of the Roman Empire c. 395 AD, modified from "The Roman Empire c. 395 AD," © Nick E. Verelst, 2014.

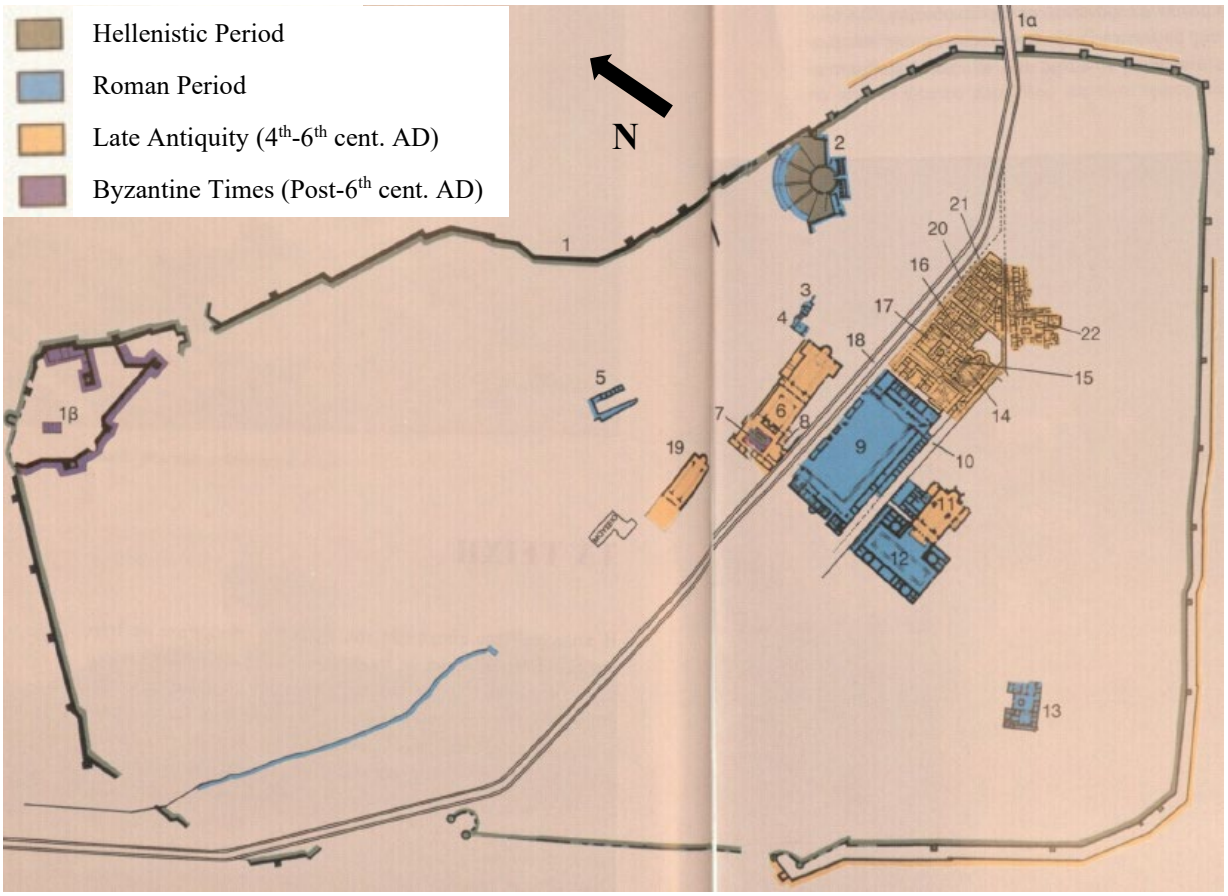

Figure 6: Plan of the archaeological site Philippi, modified from Fig. 7, p. 22, in Gounares 2004.

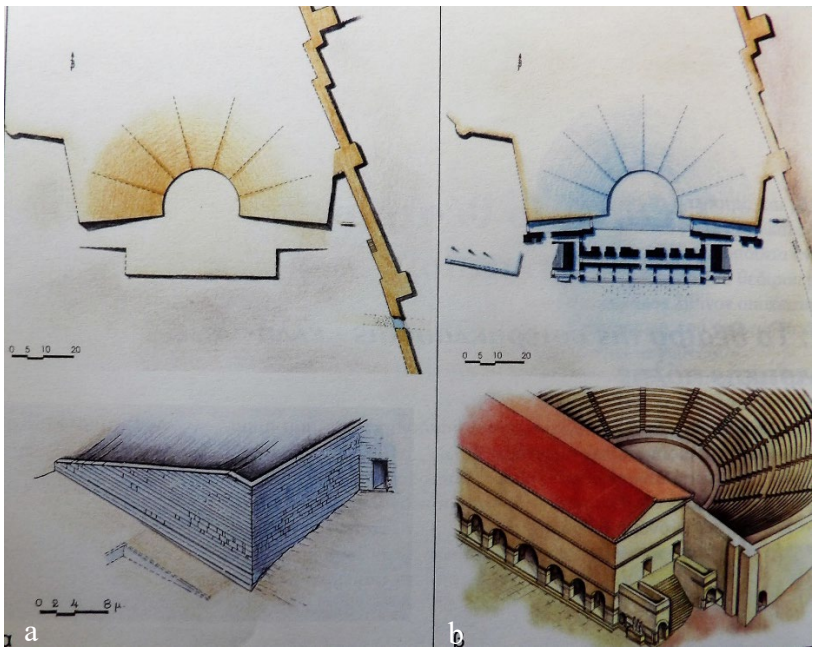

Figure 7: The first and second construction phases of Philippi's theater in the late 4th century BC and the late 1st century AD, from Fig. 2, p. 194, in Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2016.

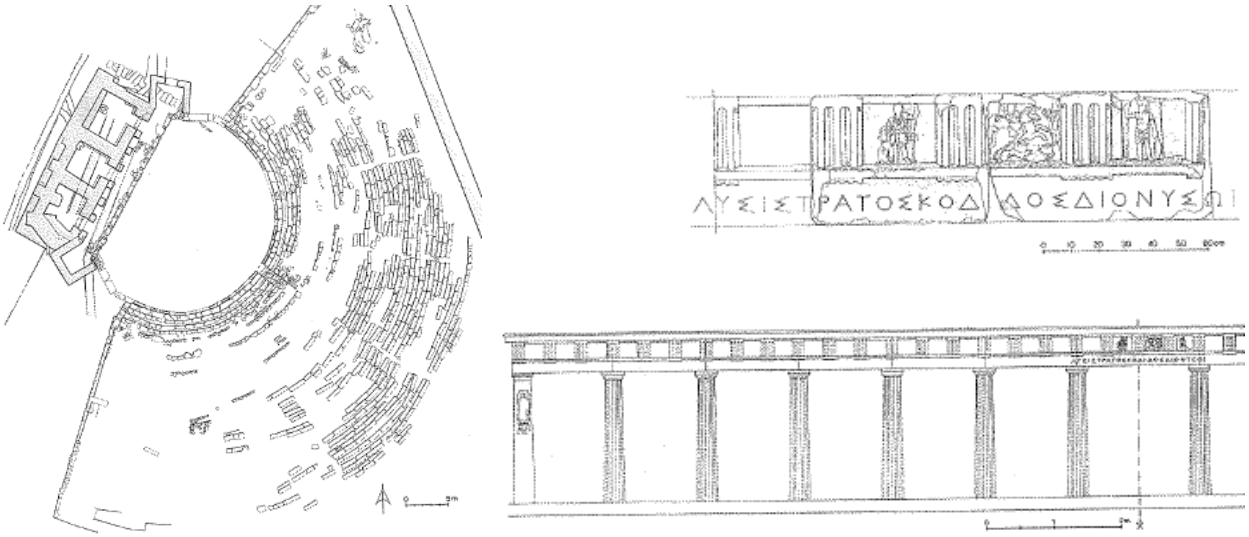

Figure 8: Plan of the theater at Thasos with reconstruction of the *proscaenium*'s Doric façade and detail of its dedicatory inscription, modified from Figs. 60, 62, pp. 106, 108, in Grandjean and Salviat 2000.

Figure 9: Aerial view of the restored theater at Maroneia, from Fig. 11, pg. 263, in Karadima et al. 2015.

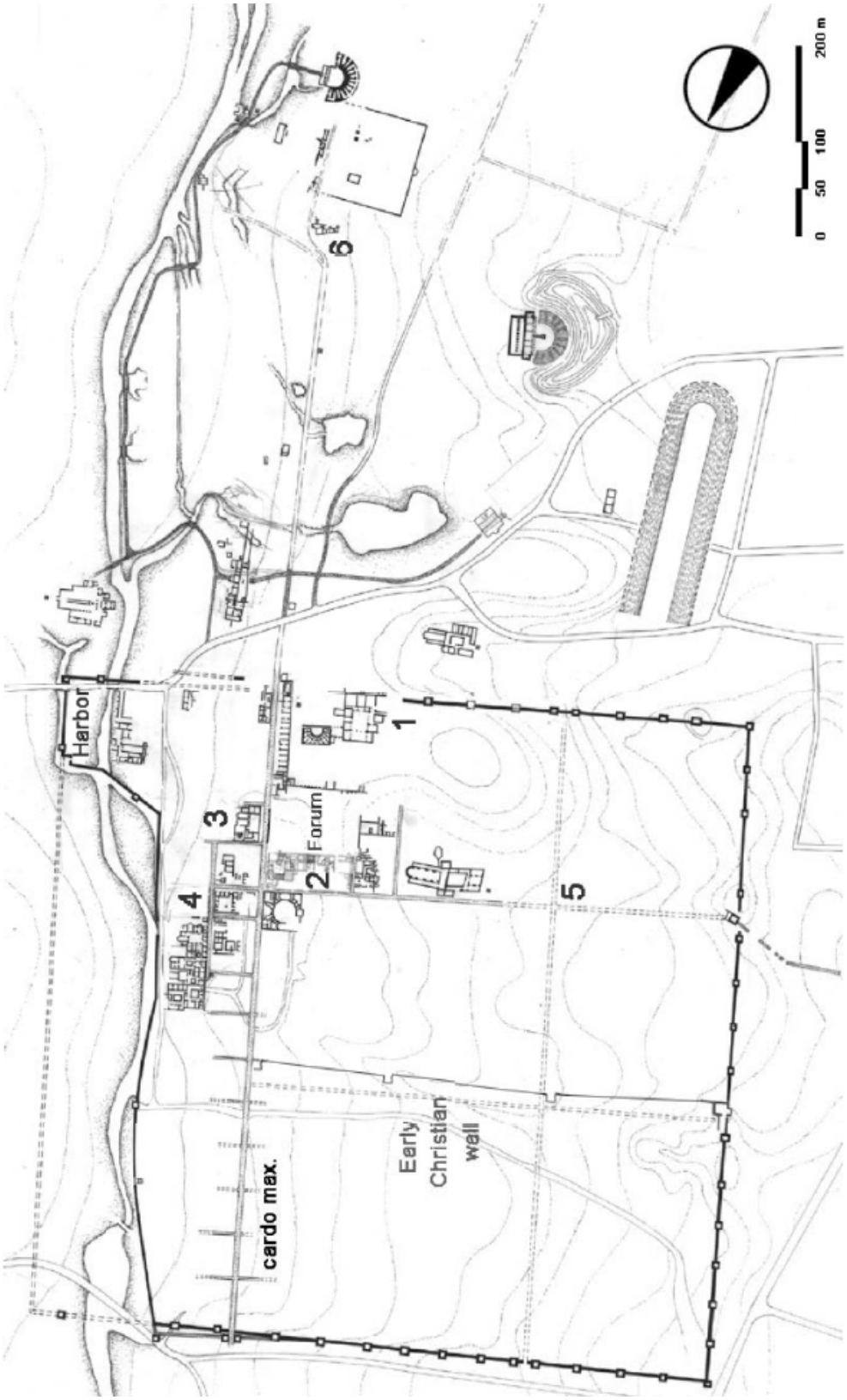

Figure 10: Plan of the archaeological site of Dion (numbers denote bath locations), from Fig. 1, p. 288, in Oulkeroglou 2017.

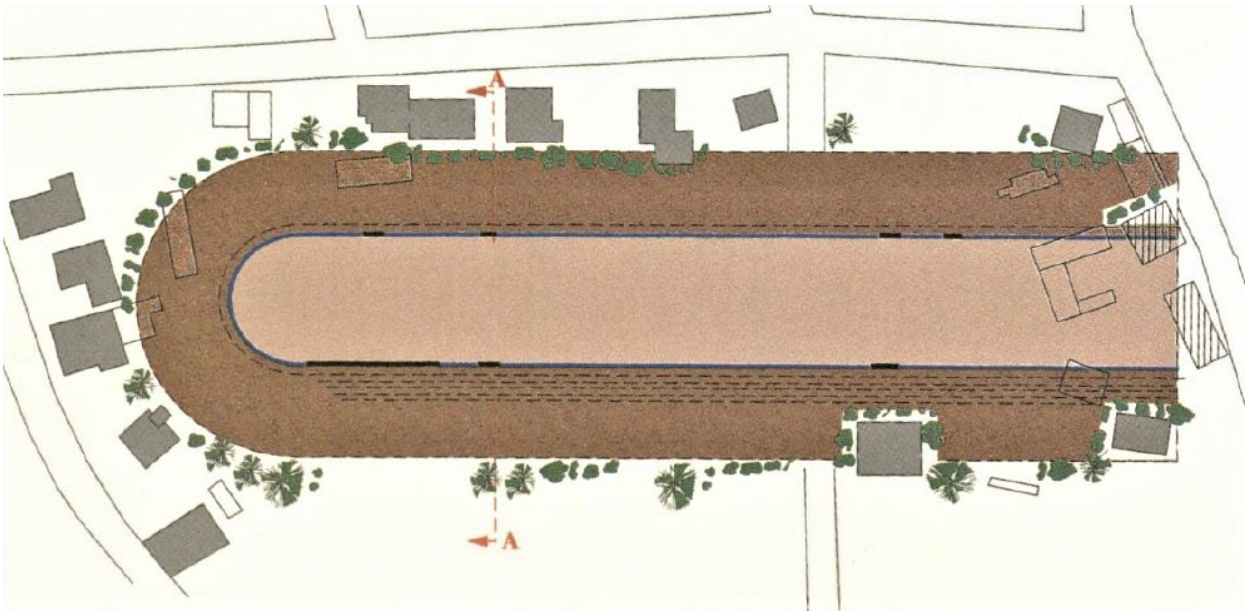

Figure 11: Reconstructed plan of the stadium at Dion (with excavated segments in black, modern houses in gray, and a profile of the track below), from p. 80, in Pandermalis 1999.

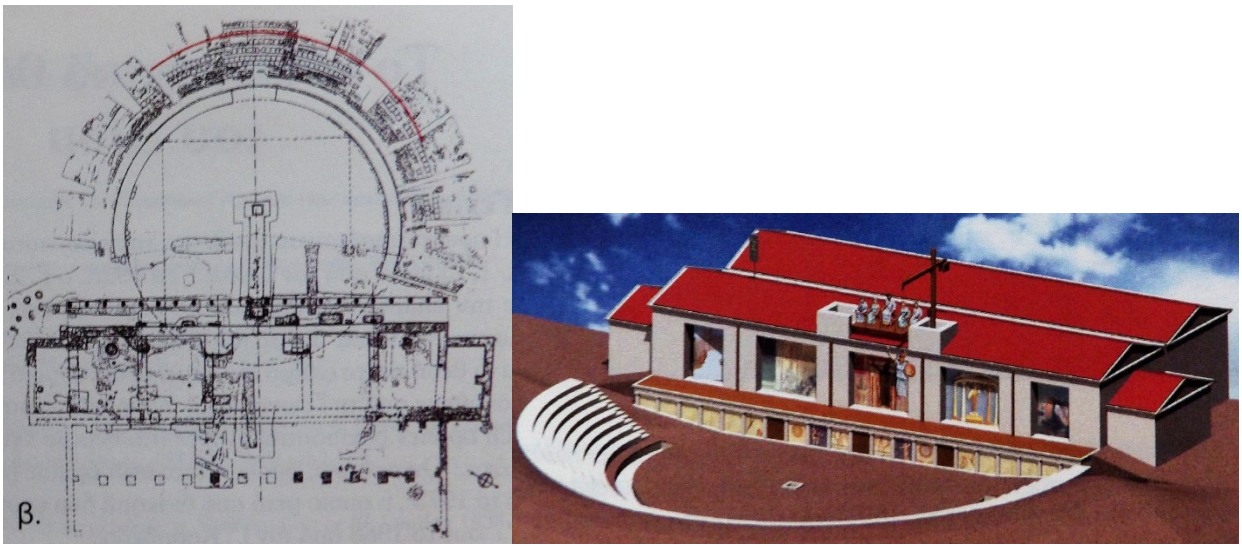

Figure 12: Plan drawing and digital reconstruction of the Hellenistic theater at Dion, modified from Figs. 3, 11, pp. 74, 83, in Karadedos 2016a.

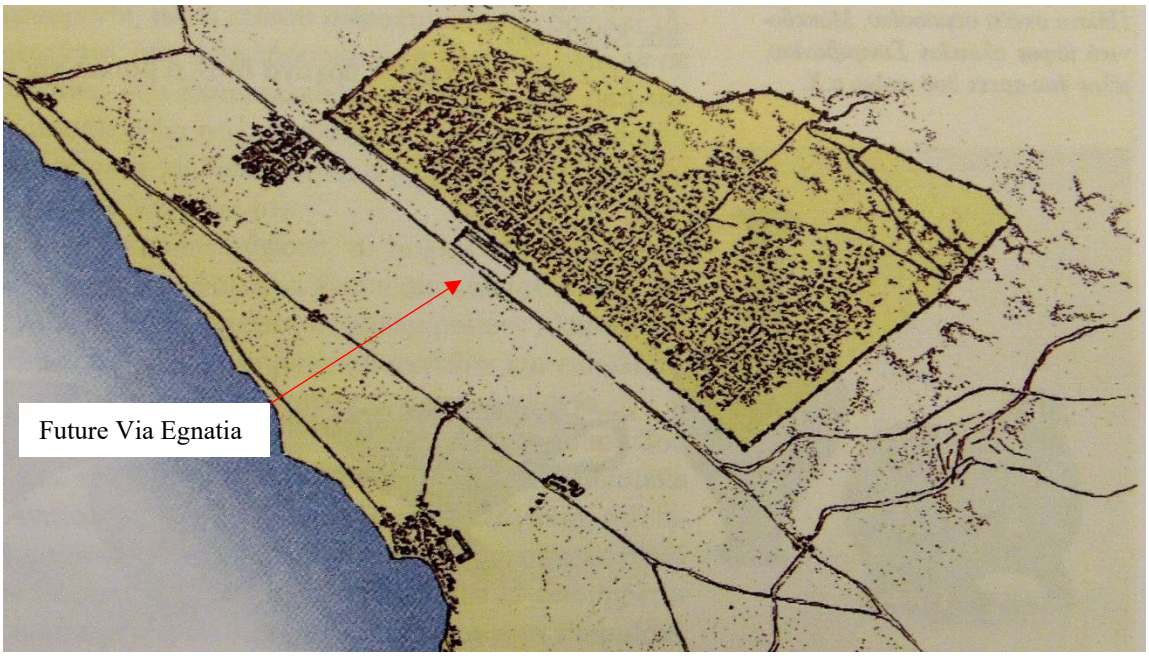

Figure 13: Thessalonica in the 3rd century BC, modified from p. 147, in Adam-Veleni 2016c.

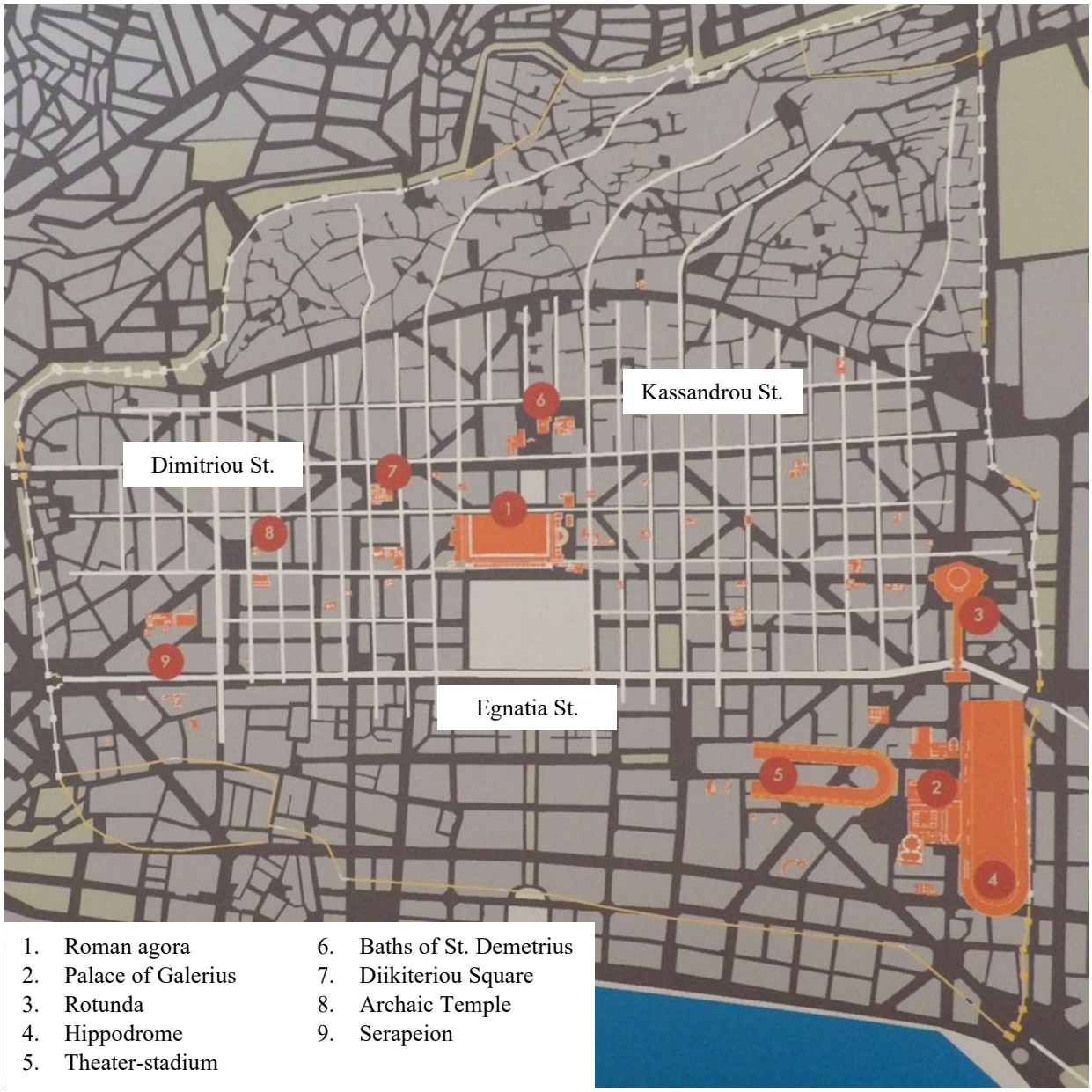

Figure 14: Plan of Roman Thessalonica and its archaeological remains superimposed on a plan of the modern city, modified from a display in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, © Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki/Hellenic Ministry of Culture & Sports.

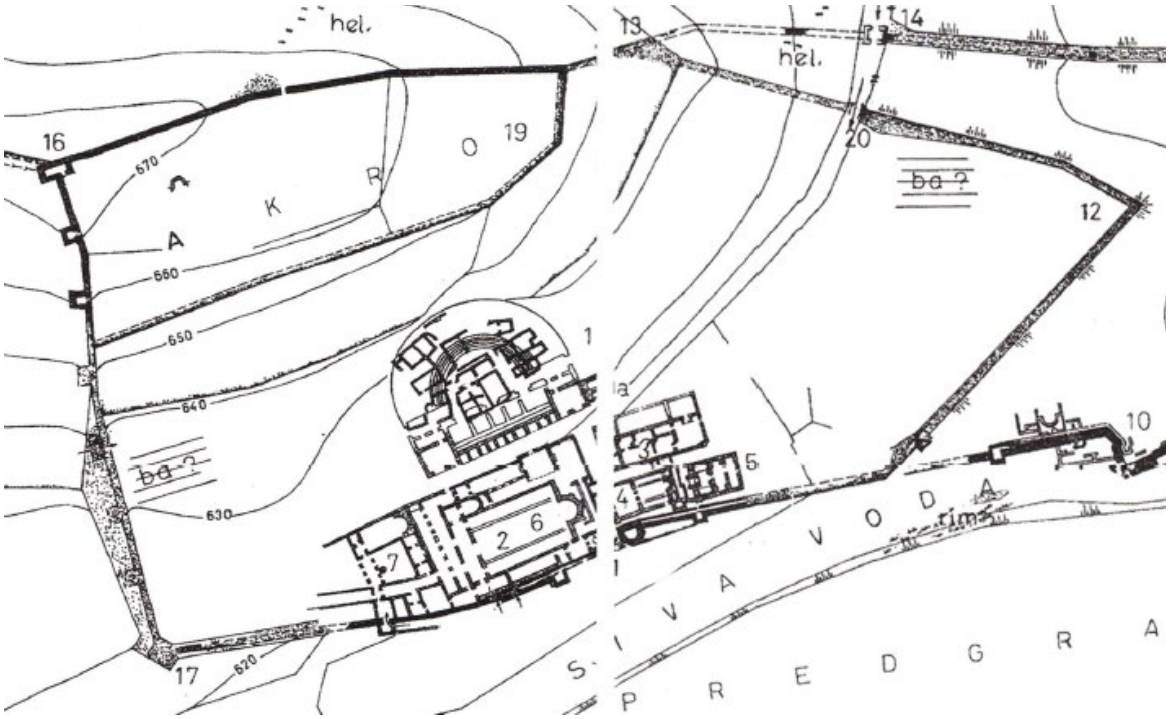

Figure 15: Plan of the archaeological site Heraclea Lyncestis, modified from Mikulčić 2007.

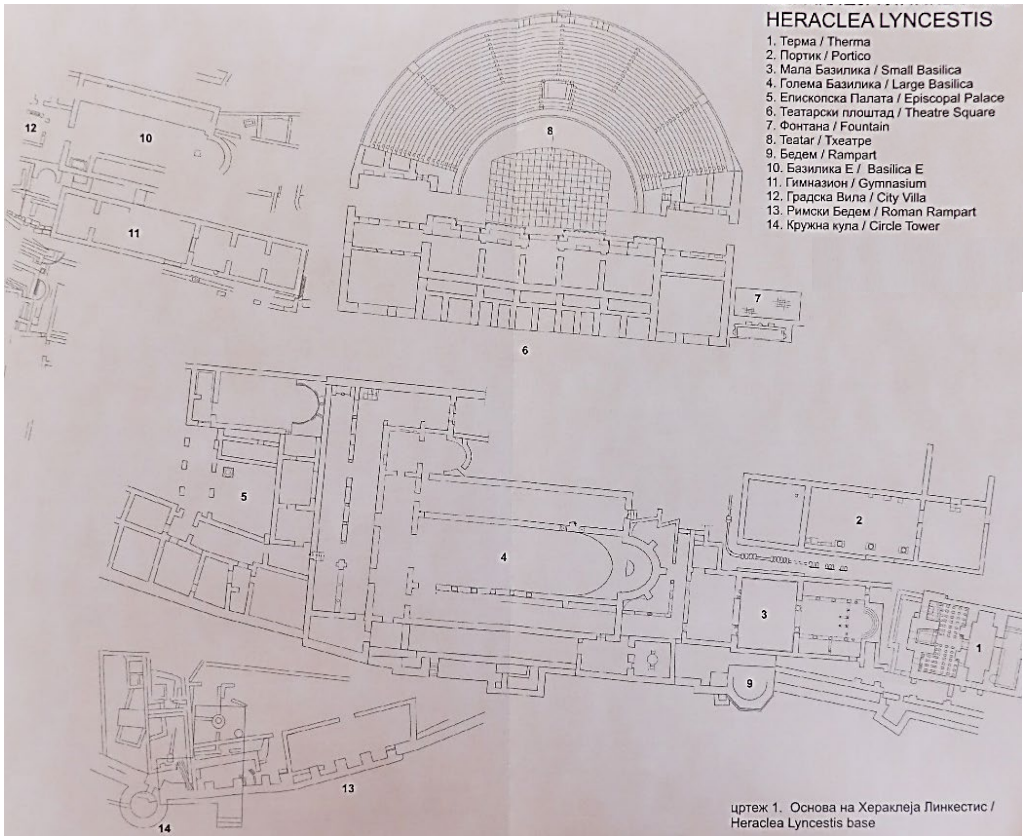

Figure 16: Plan of the center of the archaeological site Heraclea Lyncestis, from Map 1, in Giorgievksa and Nasuh 2016.

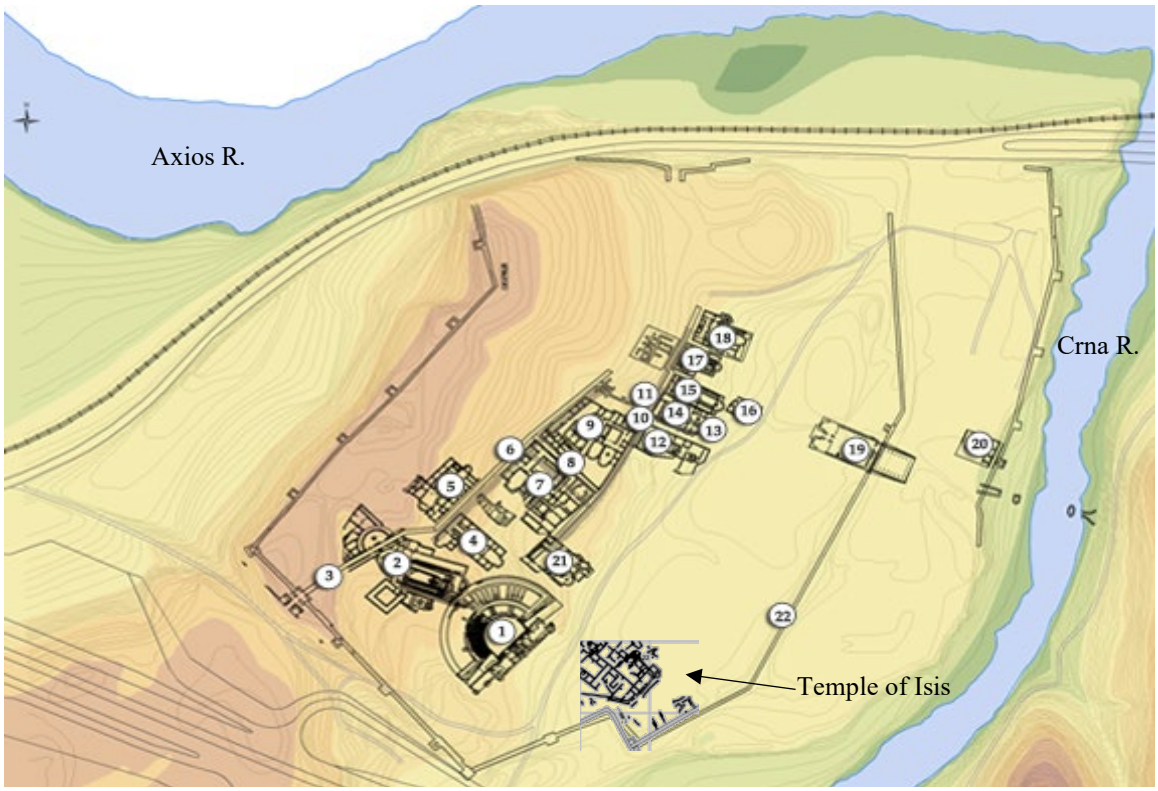

Figure 17: Plan of the archaeological site of Stobi, modified from http://www.stobi.mk, © National Institute Stobi.

Figure 18: Examples of Rhoemetalkes I's coins, top image with permission of wildwinds.com, ex Numismatik Naumann auction 49, Lot 344, Jan. 2017, bottom image courtesy of Numismatik Lanz, Munich.

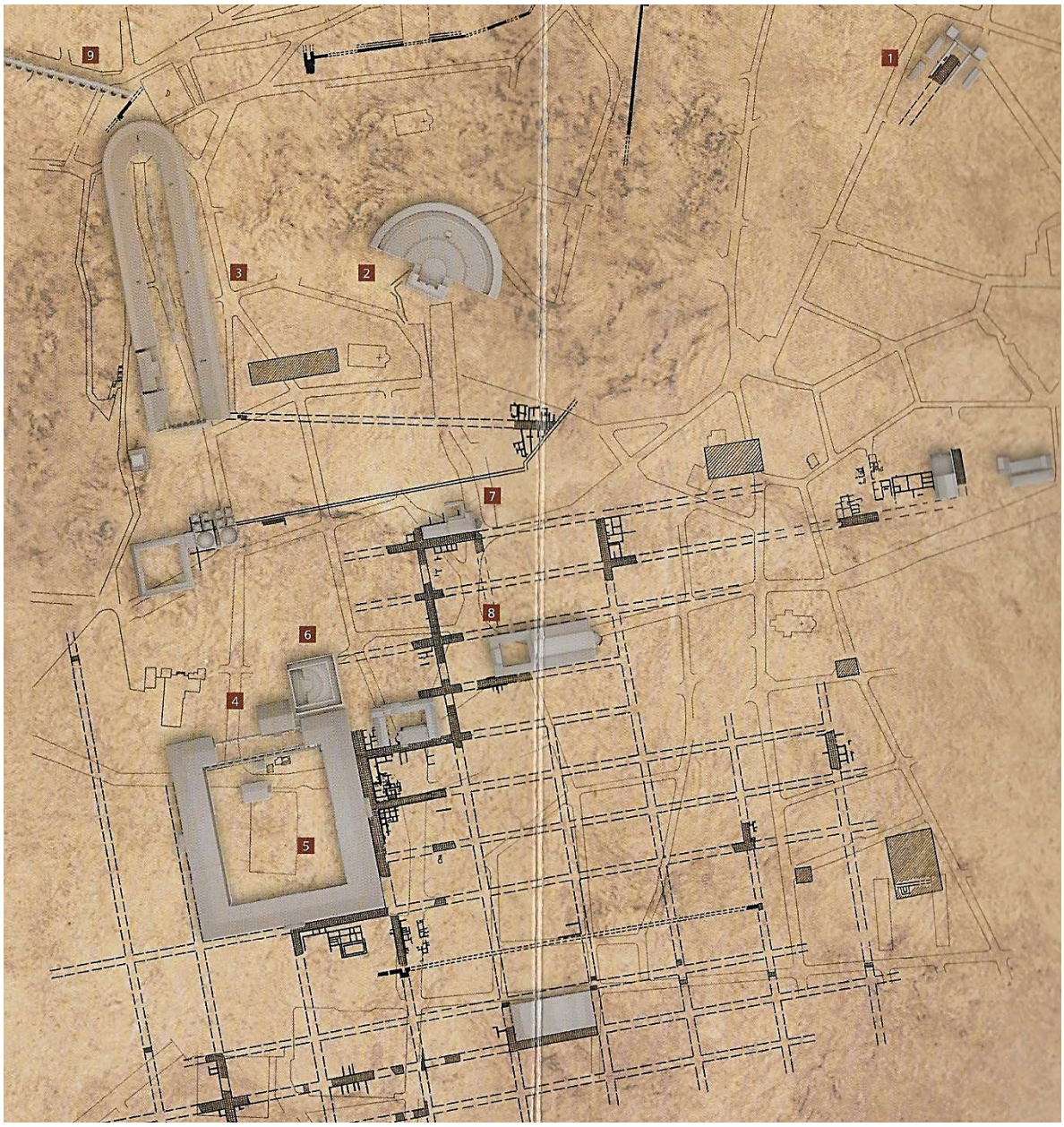

Figure 19: Plan of the archaeological site of Philippopolis, from "Philippopol" tourist brochure by the Plovdiv Municipal Tourist Information Centre, 2016.

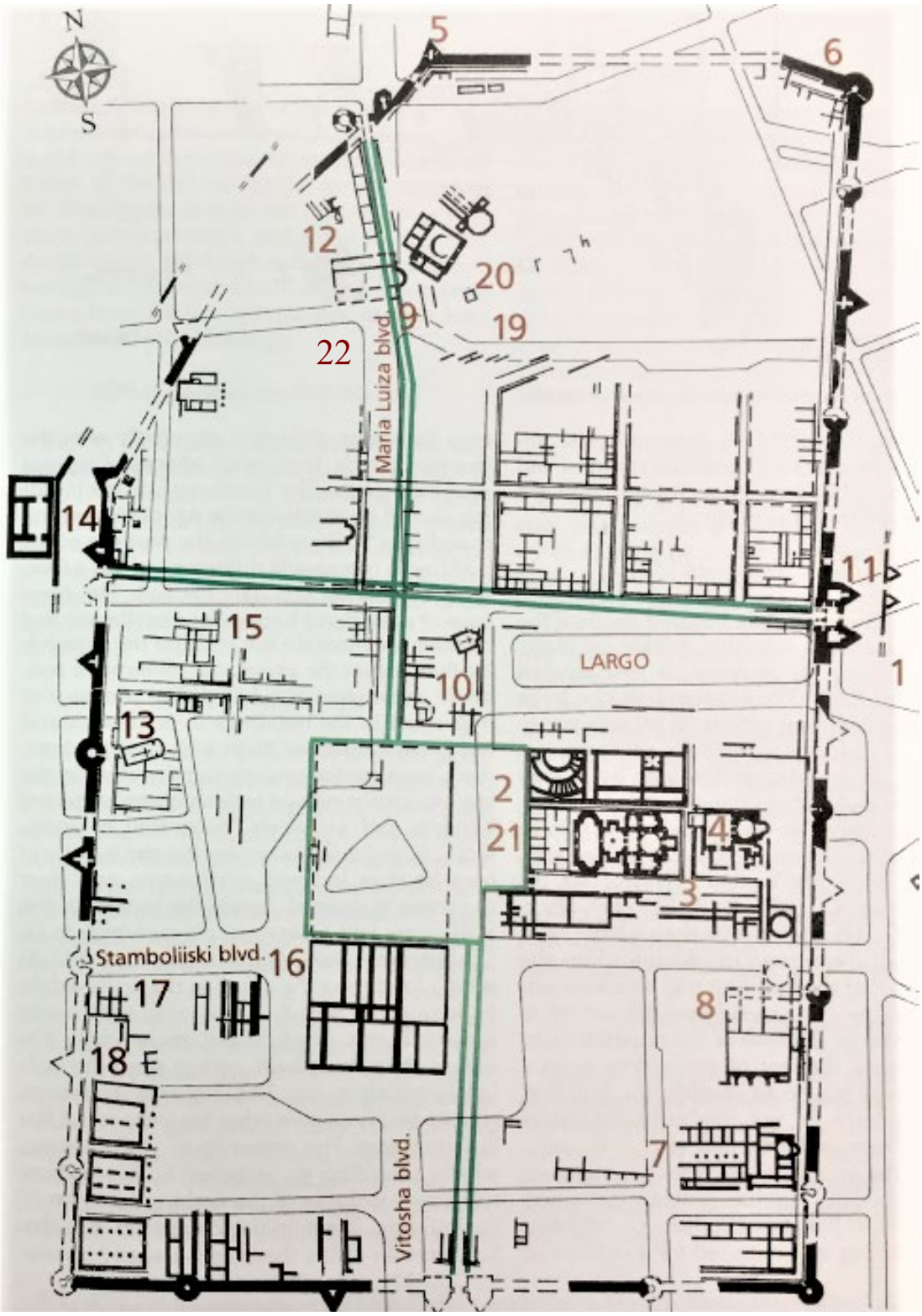

Figure 20: Site plan of Serdica with agora and main streets emphasized, modified from Fig. 13, p. 215 in Kirova 2012.

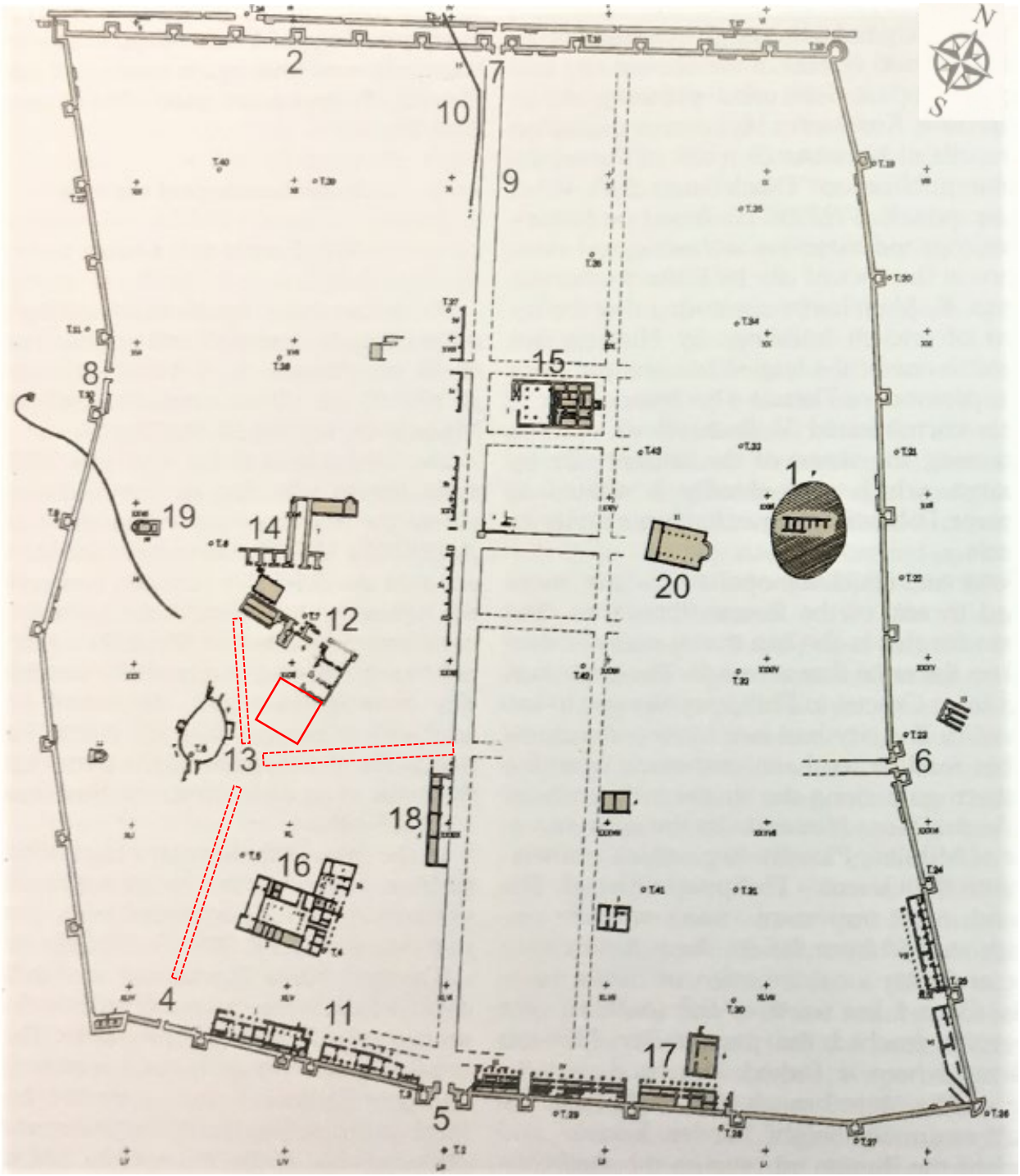

Figure 21: Site plan of Diocletianopolis, modified from Fig. 1, p. 446 in Madjarov 2012 to indicate a recently revealed extension of the central bath complex (see Madjarov 2012, 456, Fig. 15) and possible trajectories for three streets that met at the amphitheater and baths.

Figure 22: Plan of the Chatalka Villa site, modified from Fig. 1, p. 6, in Bujukliev 1986.

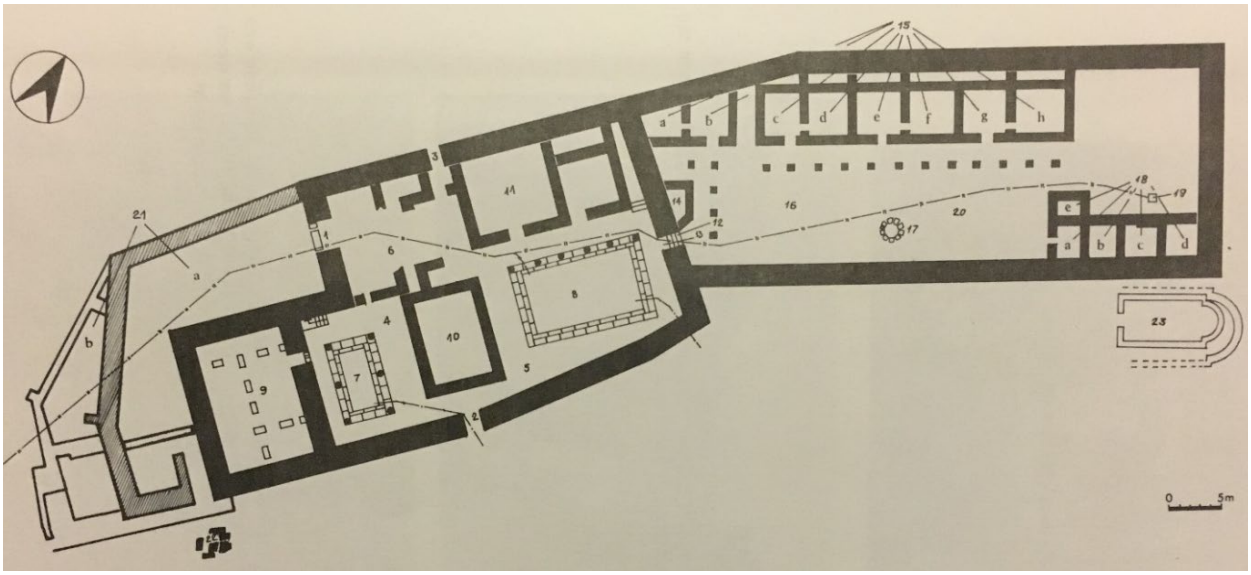

Figure 23: Plan of the *pars urbana* of the Chatalka Villa, from Fig. 12, in Nikolov 1976.

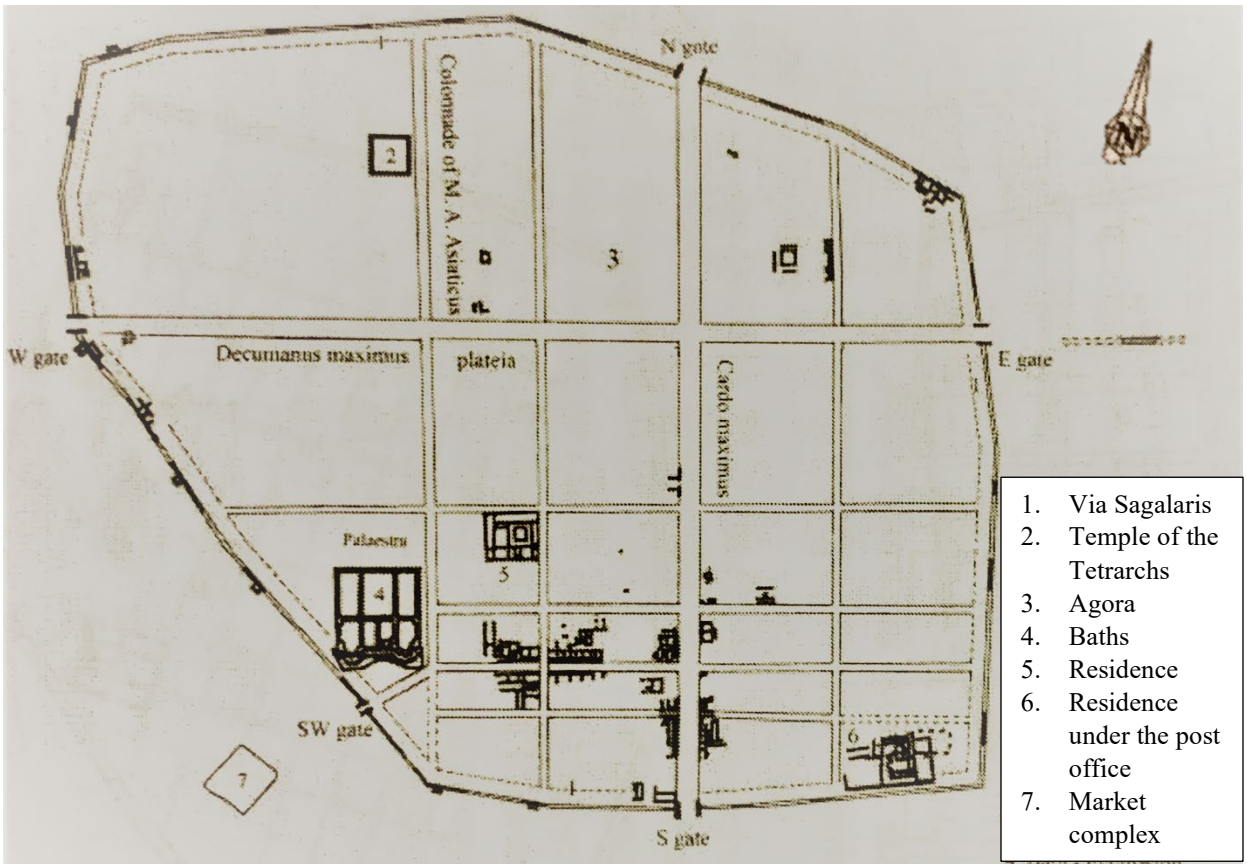

Figure 24: Site plan of Augusta Traiana (1st – 4th century AD), modified from Pl. II.1 in Popova 2017.

Figure 25: View of the theater at Philippi, from Fig. 52, p. 84, in Adam-Veleni 2010.

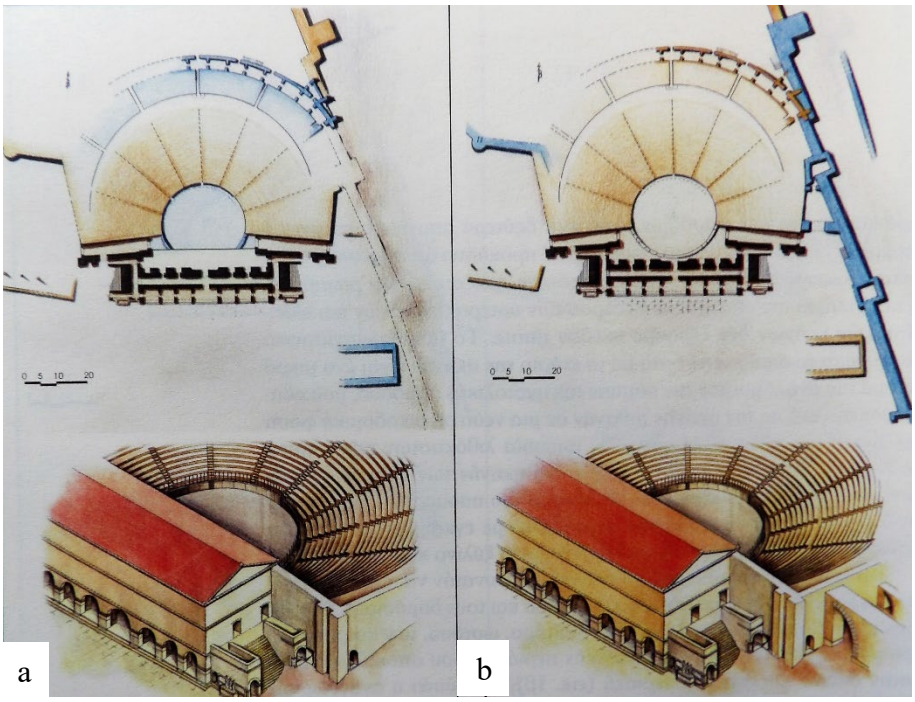

Figure 26: The third and fourth construction phases of Philippi's theater in the late 2nd – early 3rd and late 3rd – early 4th century AD, from Fig. 3, p. 196, in Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2016.

Figure 27: View of the orchestra of Thasos' theater, photo by author, 2016. (See also Fig. 8)

Figure 28: View of the *cavea* of Maroneia's theater, photo by author, 2016. (See also Fig. 9)

Figure 29: Plan of the Roman theater at Dion, photo by author, modified from a sign for the theater at the © Dion Archaeological Park.

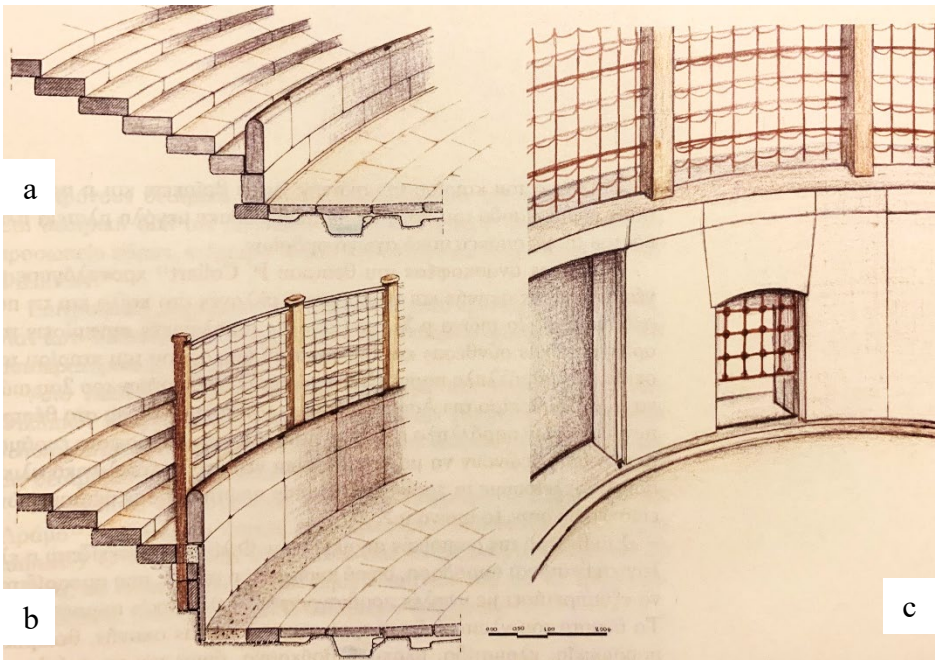

Figure 30: Artist's reconstruction of the protective barriers at the base of the *cavea* of Philippi's theater, from Fig. 4, p. 197, in Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2016.

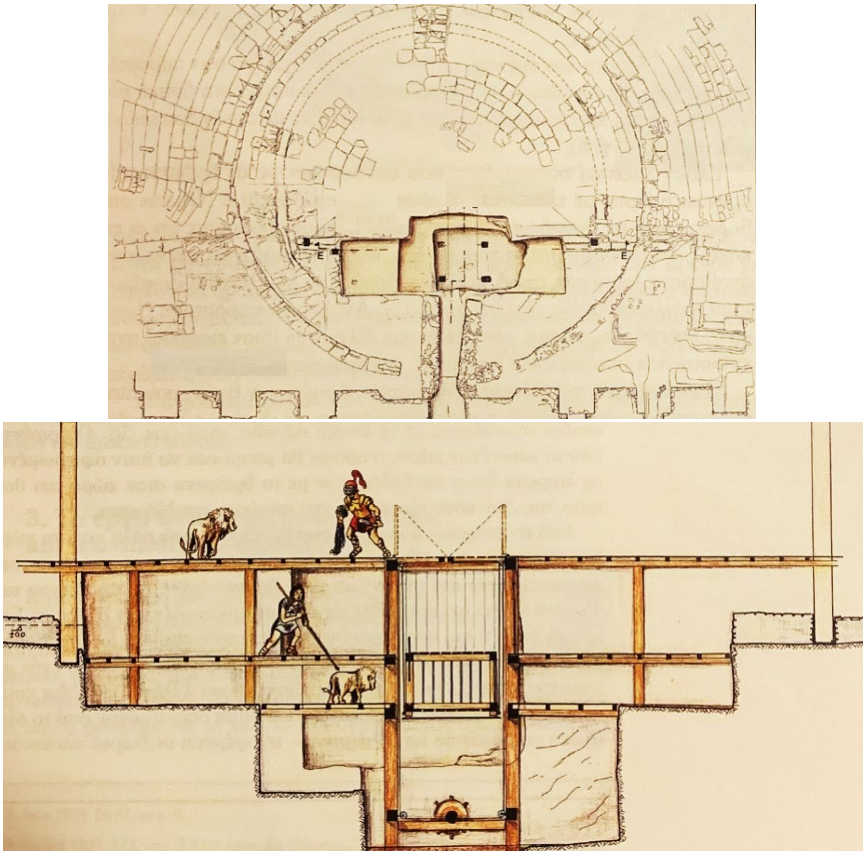

Figure 31: Location and reconstruction of the elevator under the orchestra of Philippi's theater, modified from Fig. 5, p. 201, in Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2016.

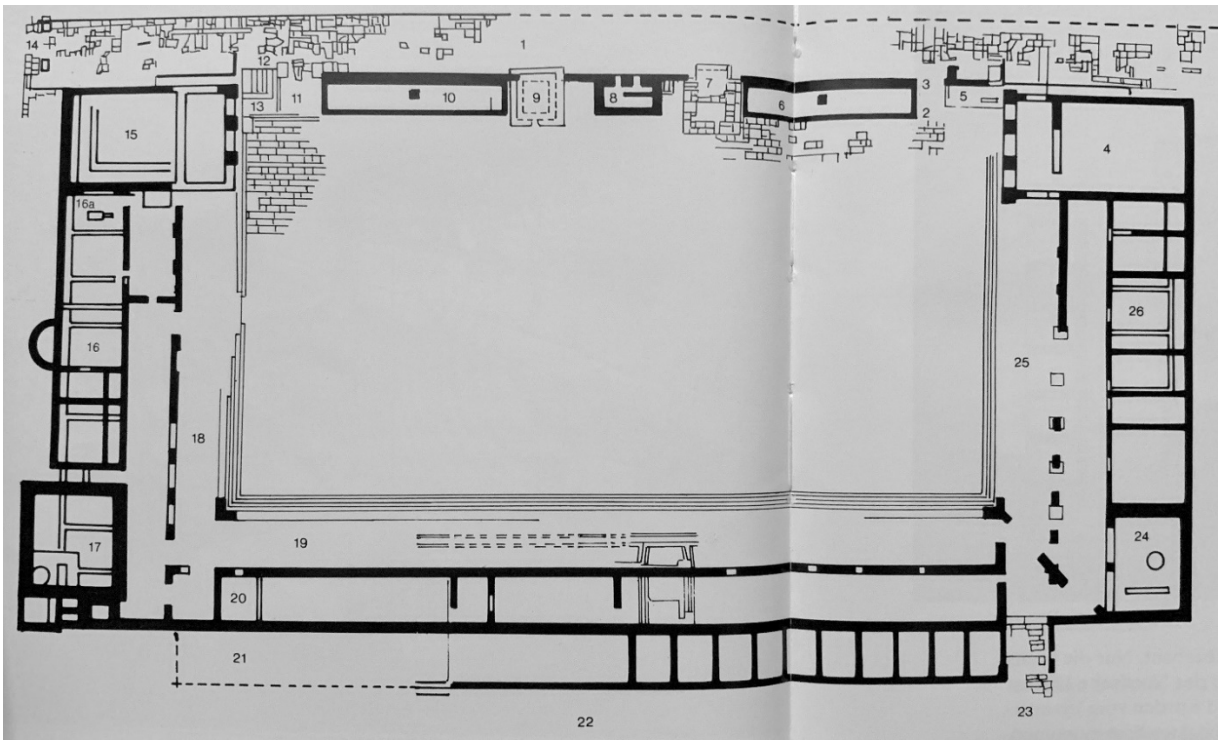

Figure 32: Plan of Philippi's agora, from pp. 40-1, in Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2000.

Figure 33: Sarcophagus fragment from Basilica B at Philippi, from Fig. 16, pg. 288, in Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007.

Figure 34a-d: The reliefs of Ares, Nike, and Nemesis in the western *parodos* of Philippi's theater, photos by author (cf. Figs. 4a-c, pg. 75, in Aristodemou 2015); 34a: Relief of Ares; 34b: Relief of Nike; 34c-d: Reliefs of Nemesis.

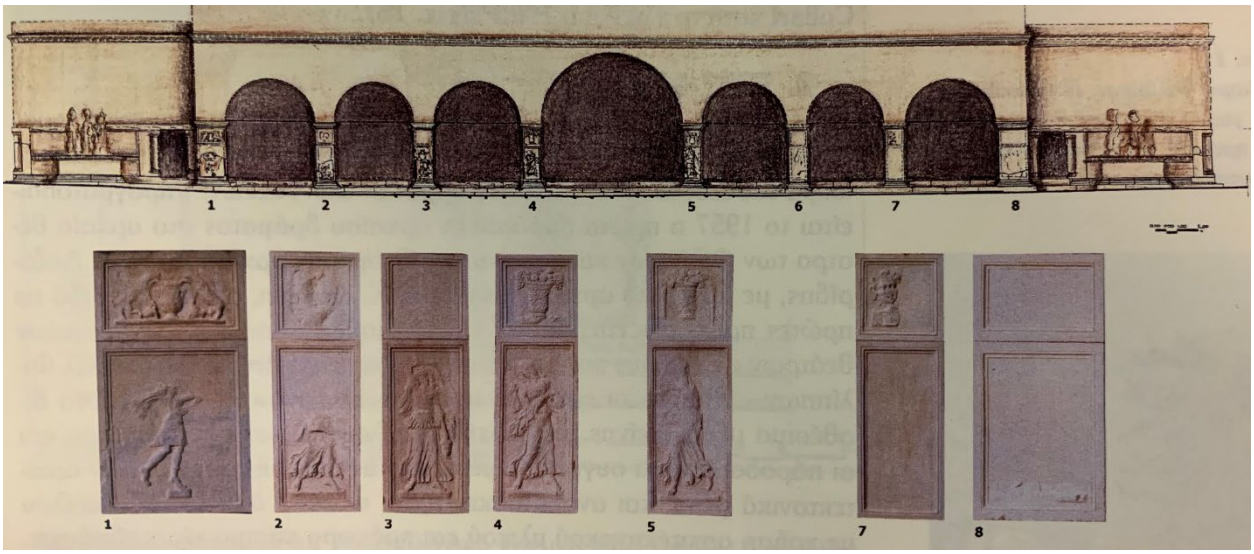

Figure 35: Reconstruction drawing and casts of the relief piers on the *porticus post scaenam* of Philippi's theater, from Fig. 10γ, pg. 207, in Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 2016.

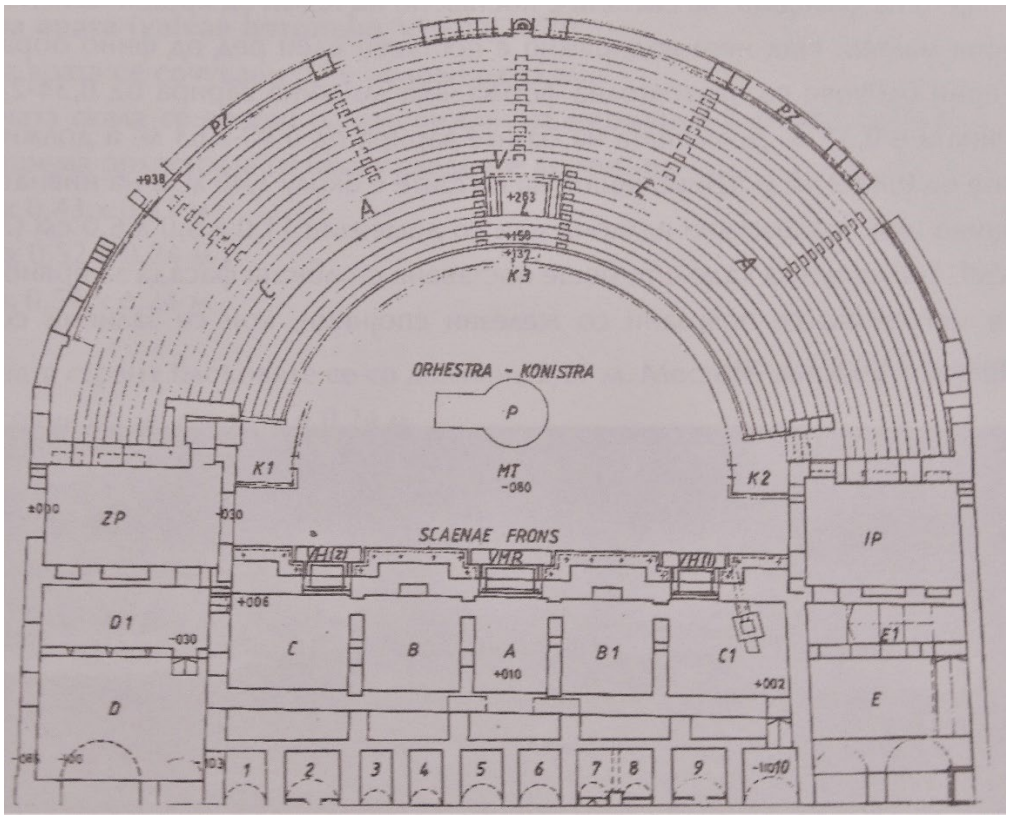

Figure 36: Plan of the theater at Heraclea Lyncestis, from Fig. 77, p. 91, in Janakievski 1998.

Figure 37: Aerial view of the theater at Heraclea Lyncestis, from 1:09/2:33 at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2qrNqkqhzZs, © Bitola Museum.

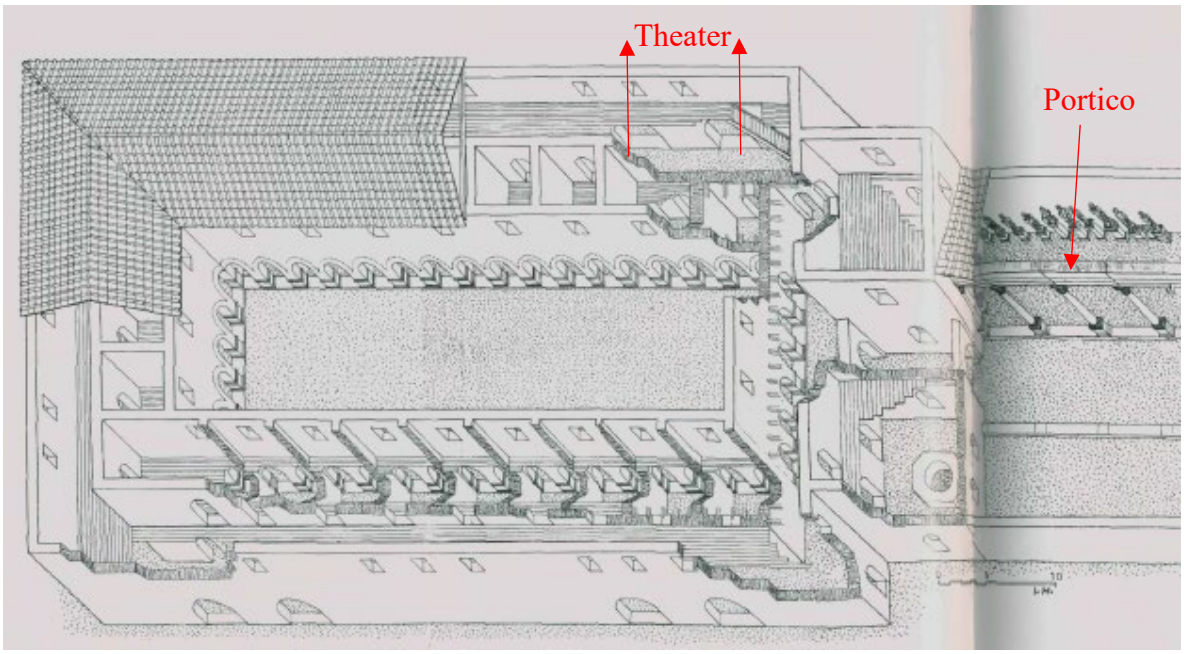

Figure 38: Proposed reconstruction of the agora at Heraclea Lyncestis, modified from pp. 78-9, in Mikulčić 2007.

Figure 39: Plan of the building phases of Lychnidos' theater, modified from p. 80, in Malenko 2008.

Figure 40: View of the theater at Lychnidos, from http://muzejohrid.mk/en/gallery/84.

Figure 41a-c: 41a: Stone theater mask of Herakles from Heraclea Lyncestis' theater, from Fig. 27, pg. 32, in Janakievski 1998; 41b-c: Stone theater masks from Dion, from Fig. 8, pg. 16, in Karadedos et al. 2014.

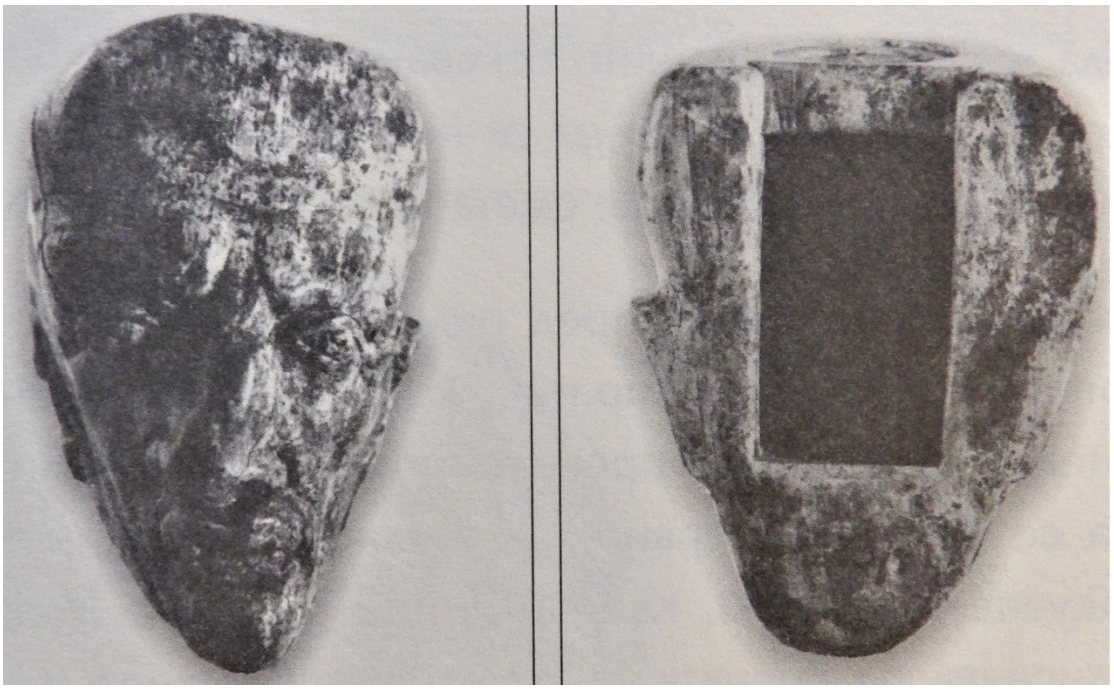

Figure 42: Carved bone head of an elder male theatrical character from Heraclea Lyncestis, from Figs. 22 – 22a, pg. 25, in Janakievski 1998.

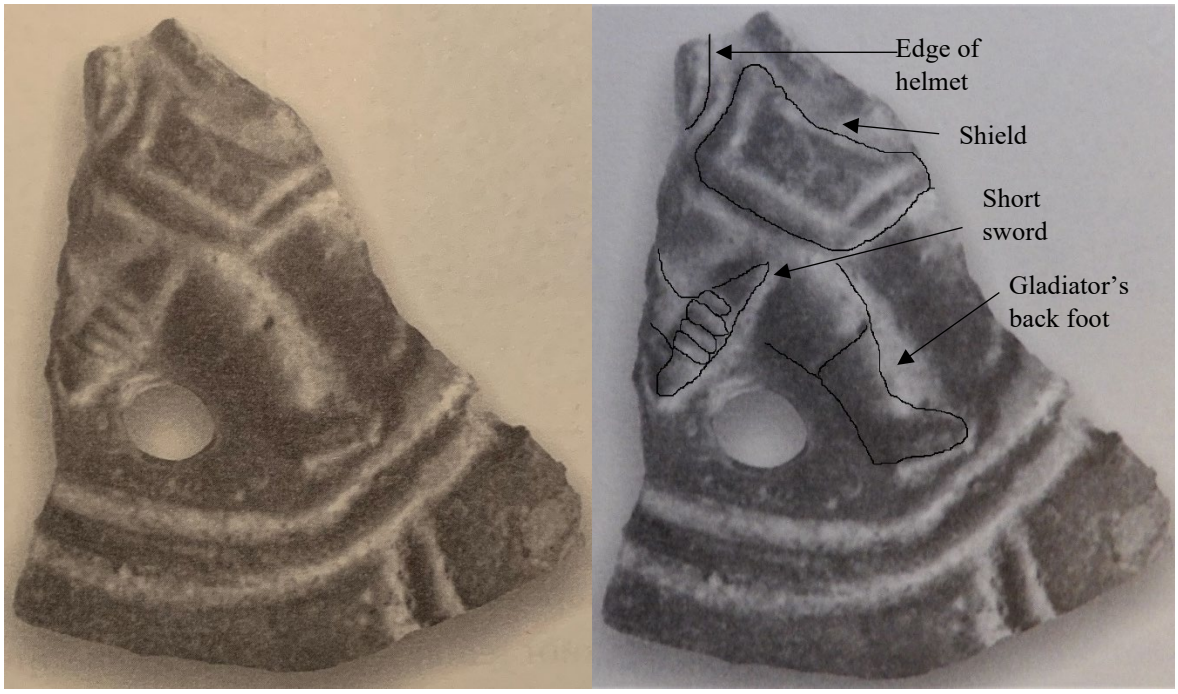

Figure 43: Fragment of ceramic lamp showing a heavy gladiator from Heraclea Lyncestis (with figure traced and labelled at the right), from Fig. 33, pg. 35, in Janakievski 1998.

Figure 44: The VIP box/*pulvinar* in Heraclea Lyncestis' theater, photo by author.

Figure 45a-b: 45a: Togate statue of T. Flavius Orestes from Heraclea Lyncestis, from pg. 47, in Mikulčić 2007; 45b: Close-up of metalworkers' guild emblem, from pg. 34, in Mikulčić 2007.

Figure 46: Votive tablet dedicated by Asklepiades to Asklepios from Heraclea Lyncestis, photo by author, © Bitola Museum (cf. pg. 27, Cat. #8, in Kalpakovska and Giorgievska 2003).

Figure 47: Julia Tertulla's dedication to Nemesis with base to Orestes' statue at the back of Heraclea Lyncestis' "Porch with Honorific Statues," photo by author, © Bitola Museum (cf. pg. 26, Cat. #6, in Kalpakovska and Giorgievska 2003; pg. 51, in Mikulčić 2007).

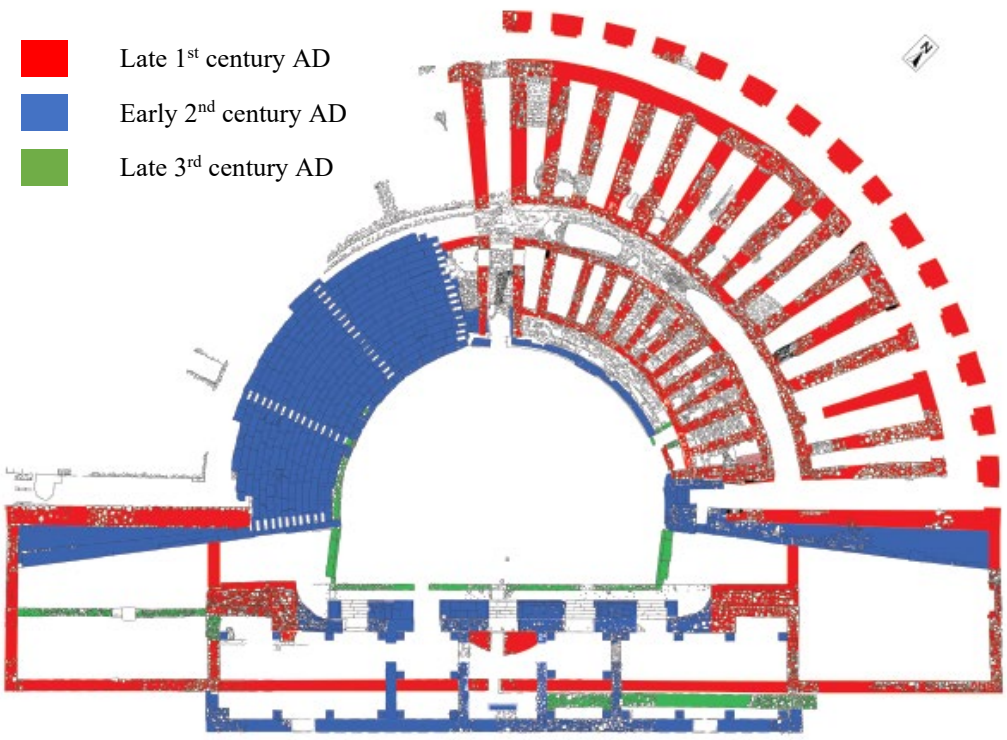

Figure 48: Plan of the theater at Stobi with color-coded construction phases, modified from Fig. 8, p. 205, in Pavlovski 2018a.

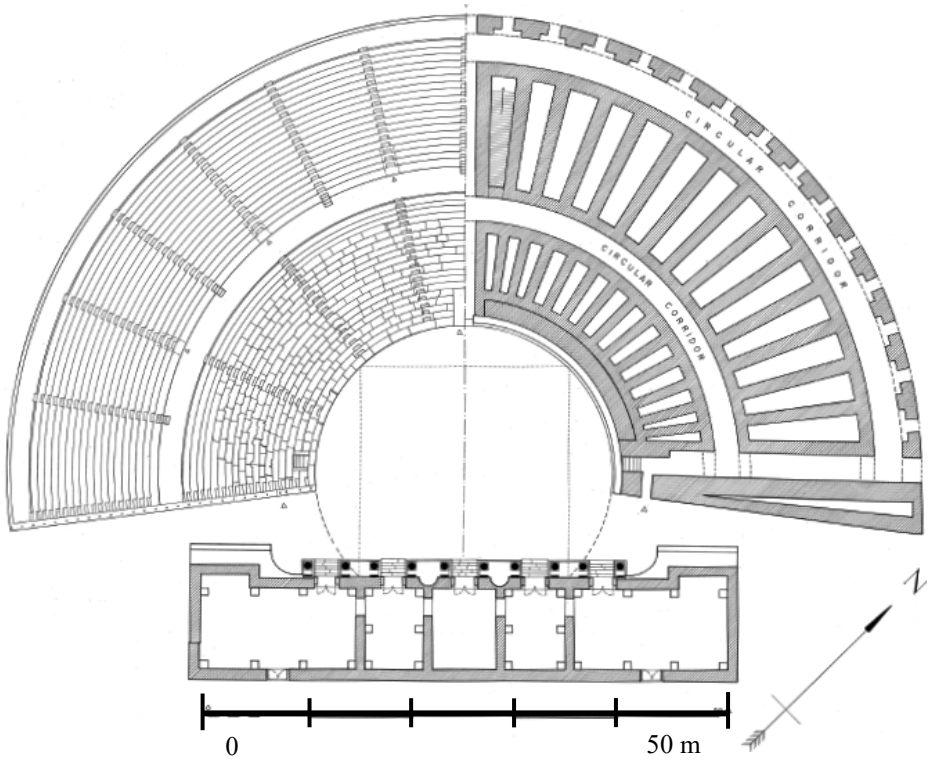

Figure 49: Plan of the second phase of Stobi's theater with the foundations of the first scene building indicated with dashed lines, from Fig. 1, p. 144, in Gebhard 2018.

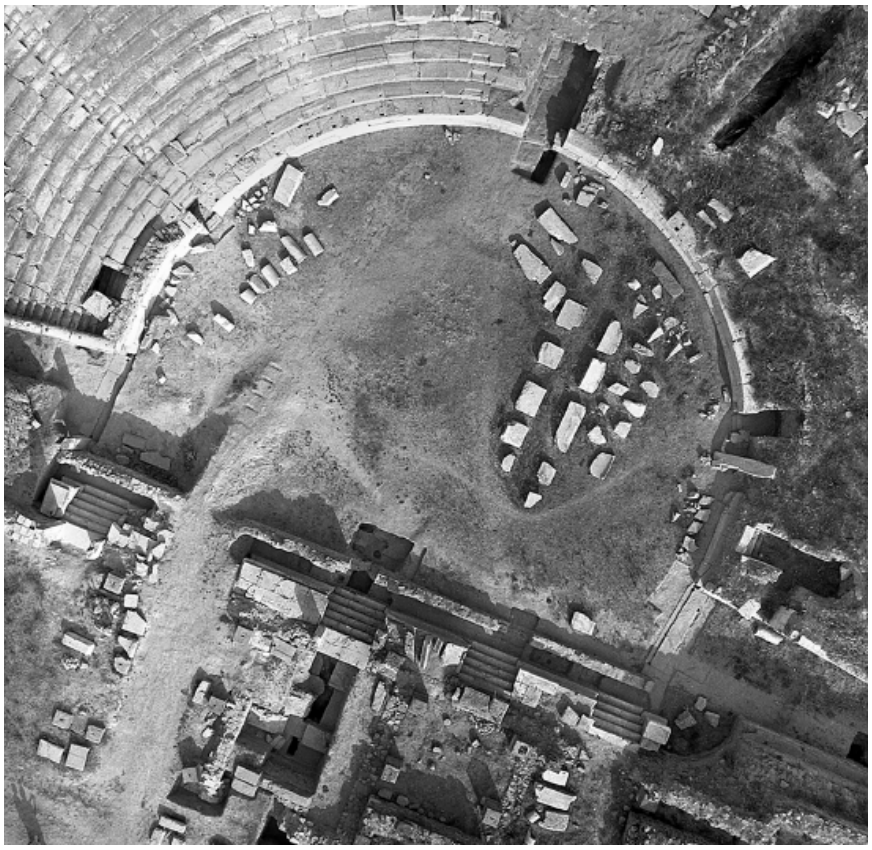

Figure 50: Aerial view of the orchestra of Stobi's theater, from Fig. 2, pg. 145, in Gebhard 2018.

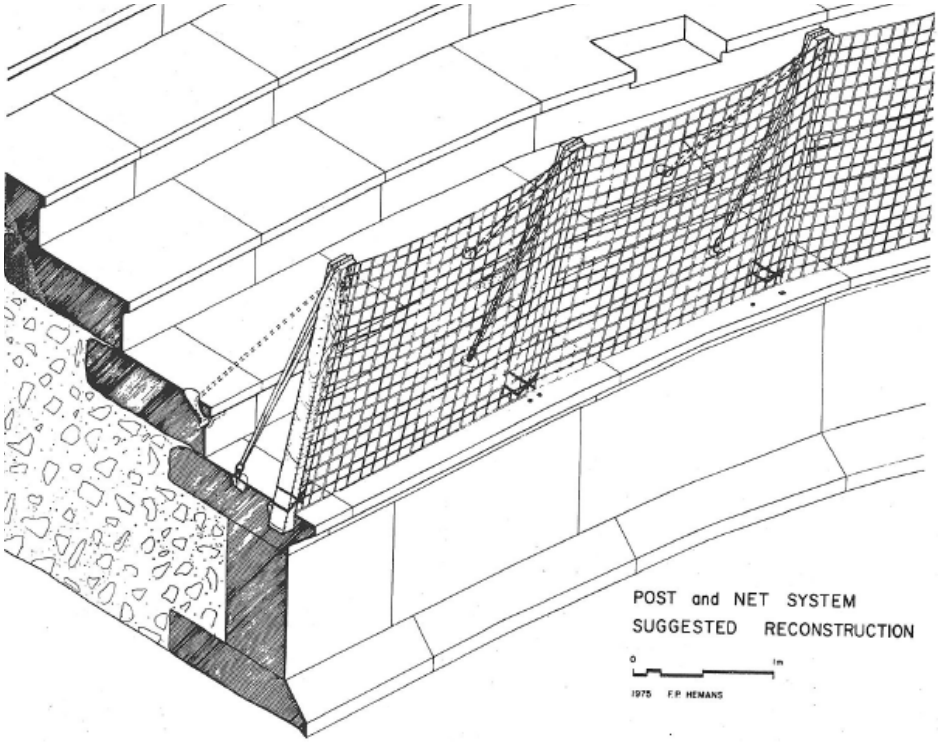

Figure 51: Reconstruction of the netting in Stobi's theater, from Fig. 9, p. 25, in Gebhard 1981.

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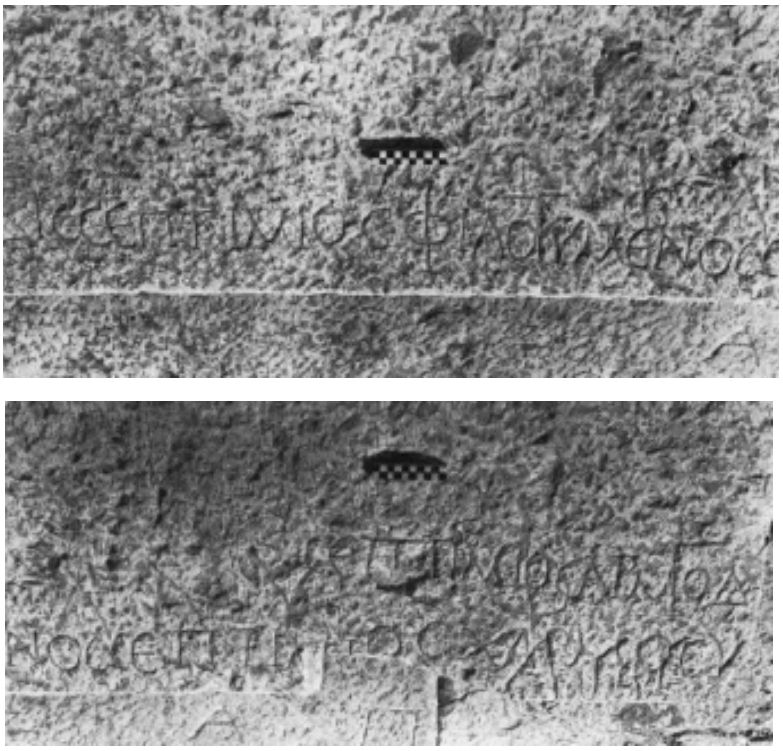

Figure 56: Examples of seats inscribed with personal and family names from Stobi's theater, from Figs. 8-9, Pl. 77, in Wiseman 1984.

Figure 57: Dionysiac relief from Stobi, from pg. 25, Cat. #12, in Babamova 2012.

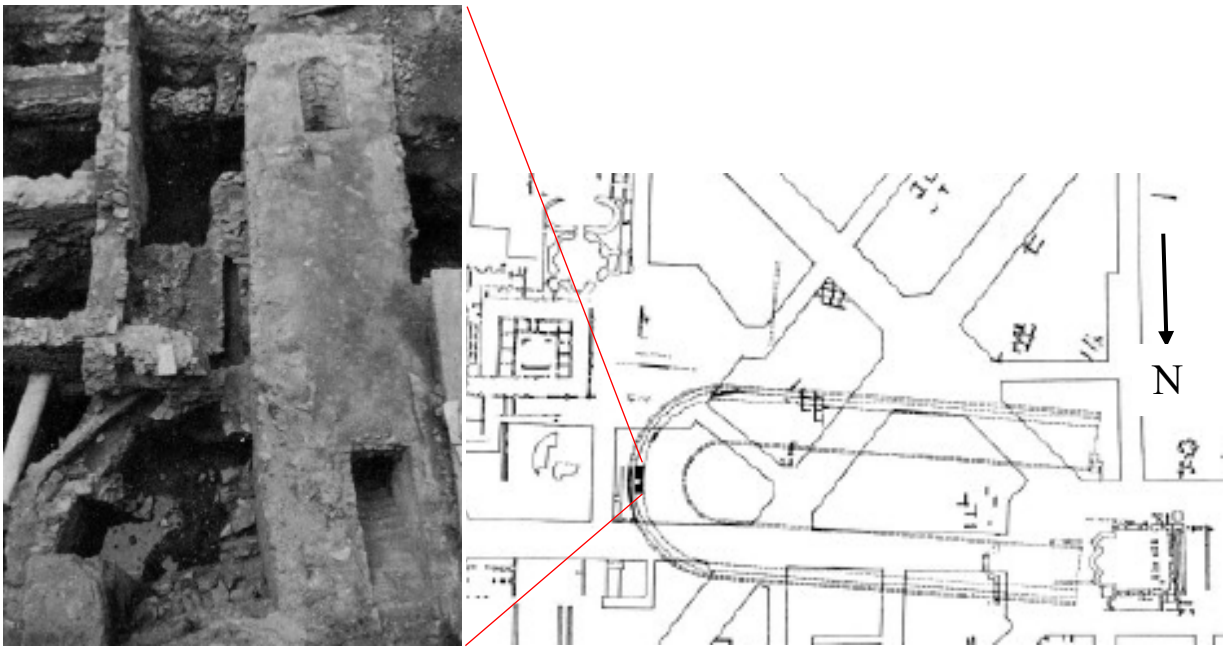

Figure 58: The uncovered portion of the *sphendona* of Thessalonica's theater-stadium and a plan showing its location, modified from Fig. 1, Pic. 1, pp. 245, 254, in Velenis and Veleni 1992.

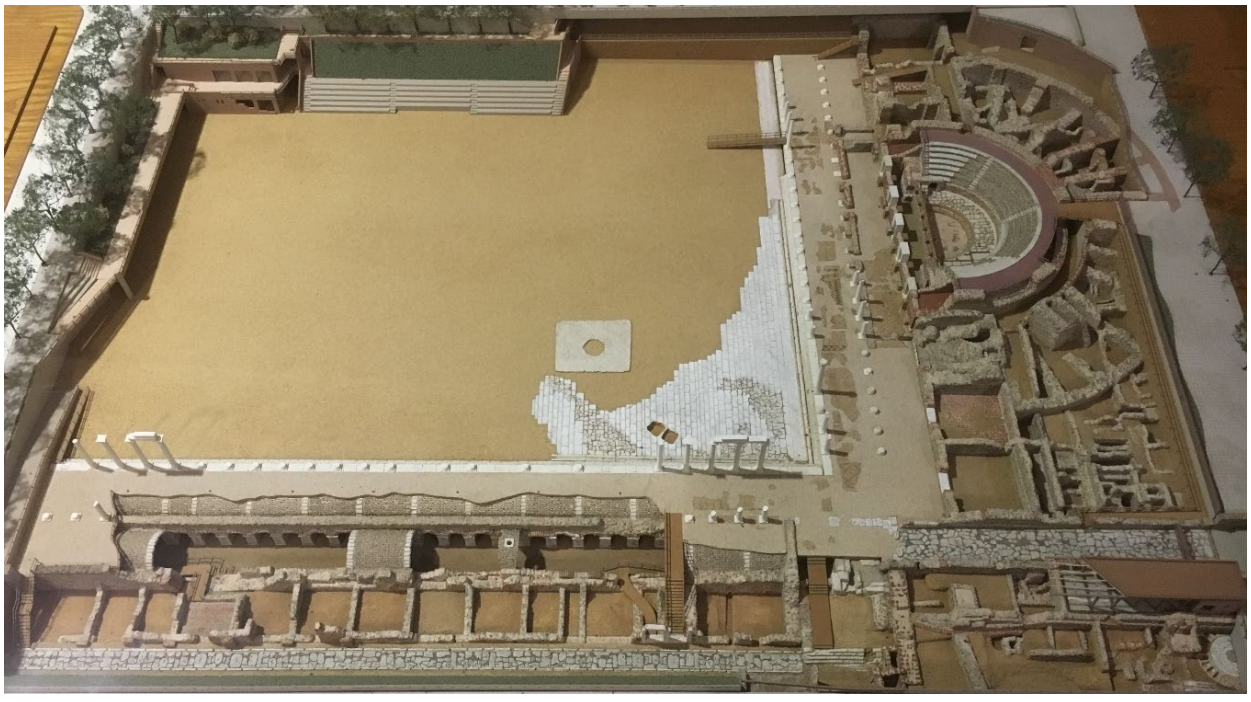

Figure 59: Model of the excavated portion of the agora complex of Thessalonica, on display at the Agora Museum of Thessaloniki, © Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Thessaloniki, Hellenic Ministry of Culture & Sports.

Figure 60: Views of the reconstructed interior of the *odeum* of Thessalonica, photo by author, June 2016.

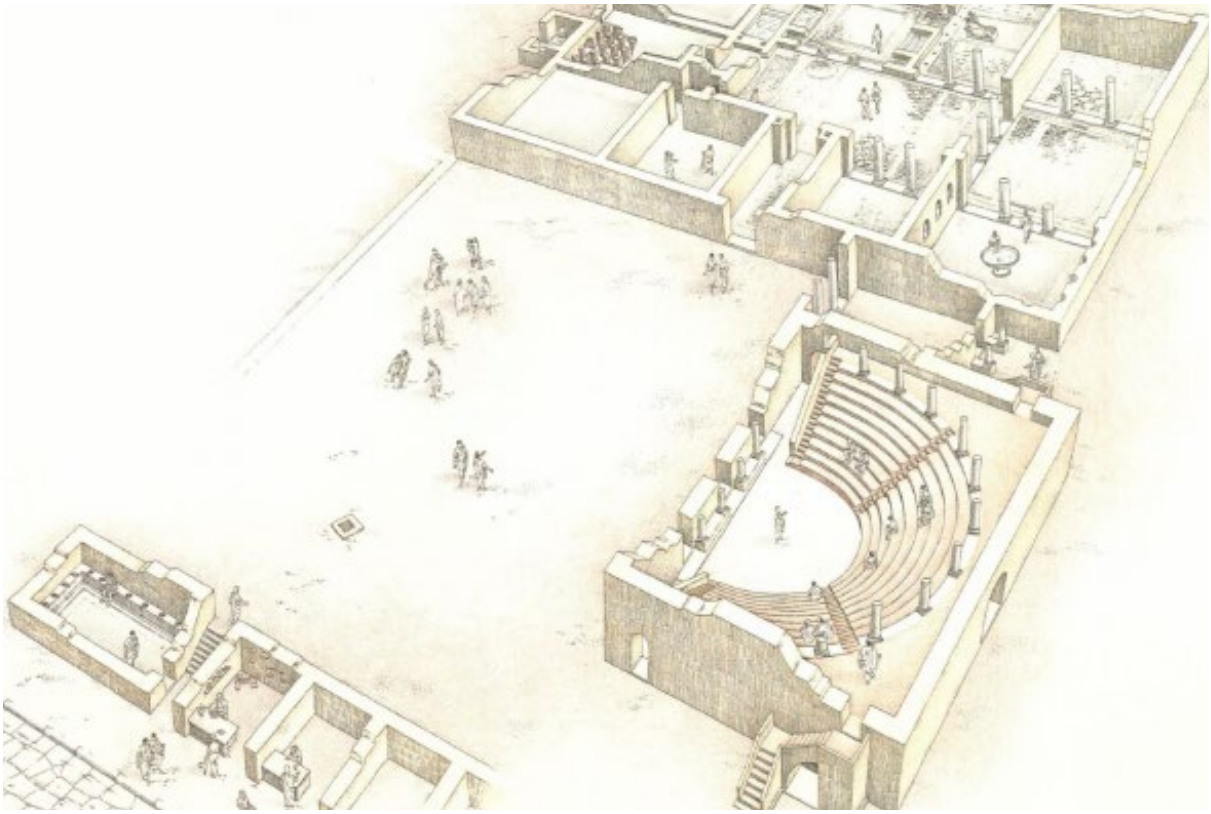

Figure 61: Reconstruction of the Great Baths complex with *odeum* at Dion, from p. 141, in Pandermalis 1999.

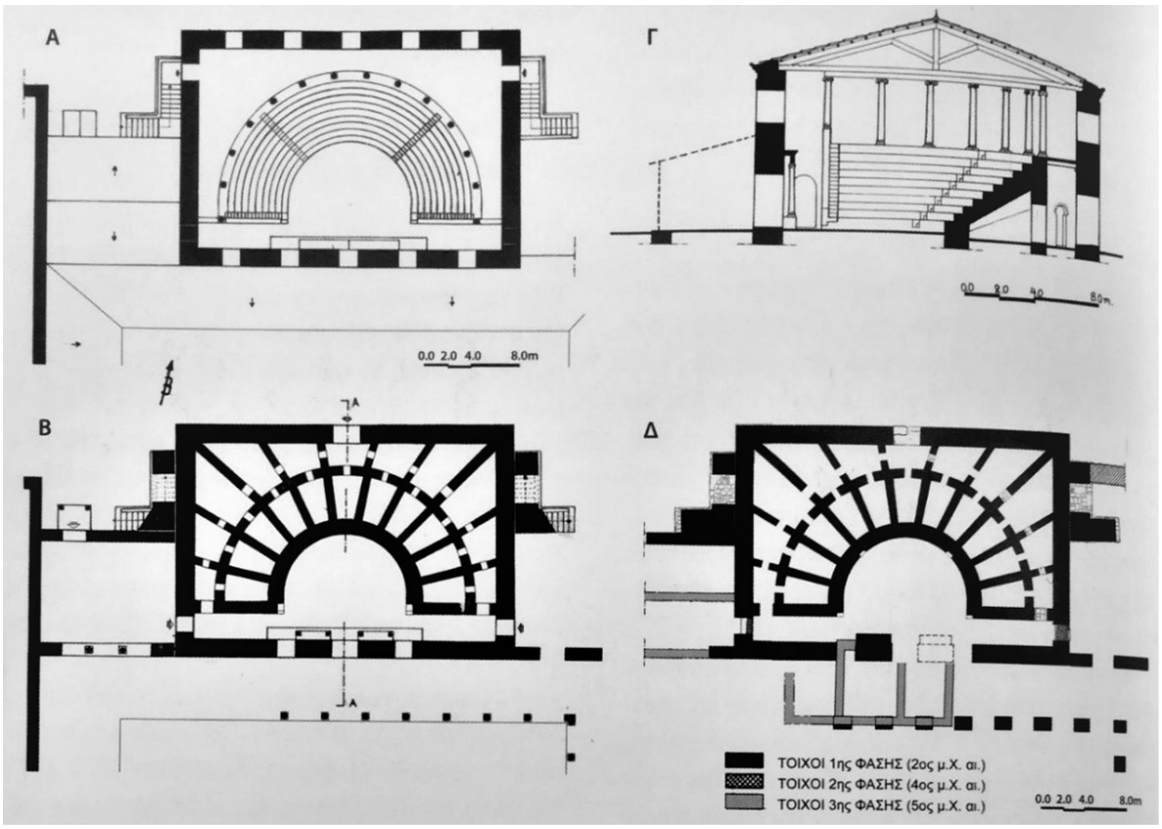

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Figure 63: View of the remains of Thasos' *odeum*, from Fig. 1, p. 245, in Bonias and Marc 2016.

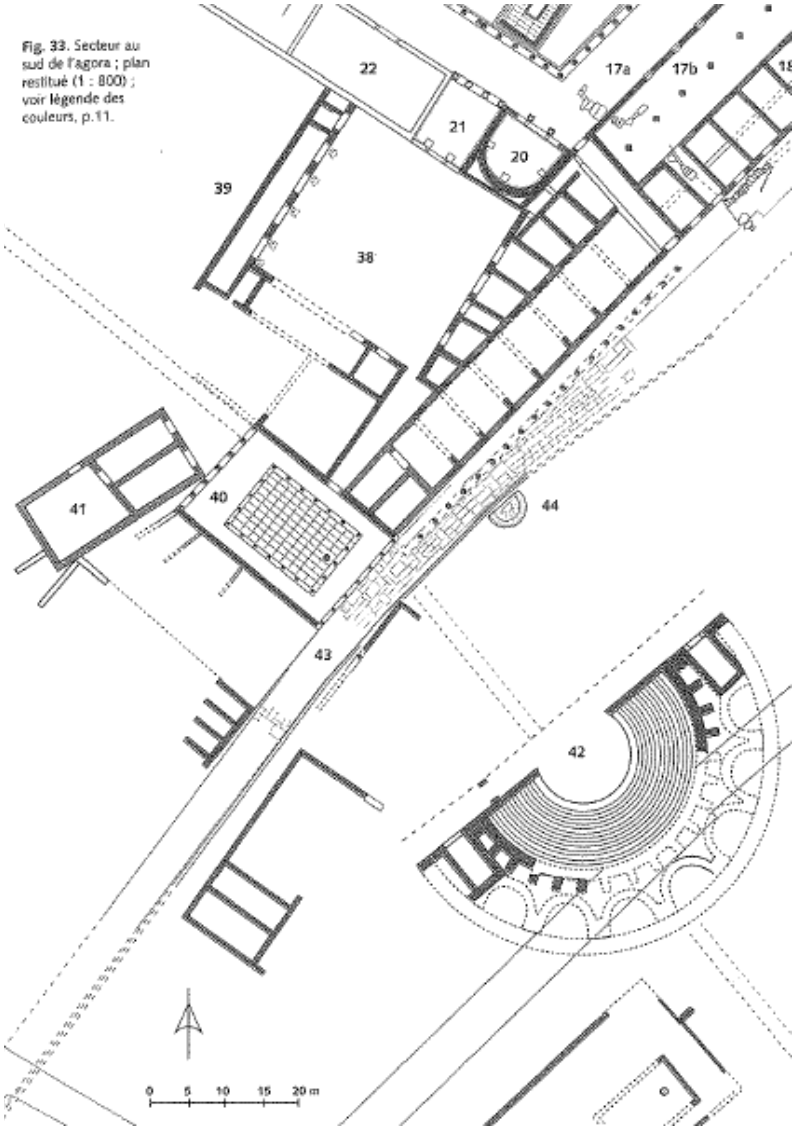

Figure 64: Plan of the area of Thasos' *odeum*, from Fig. 33, p. 79, in Grandjean and Salviat 2000.

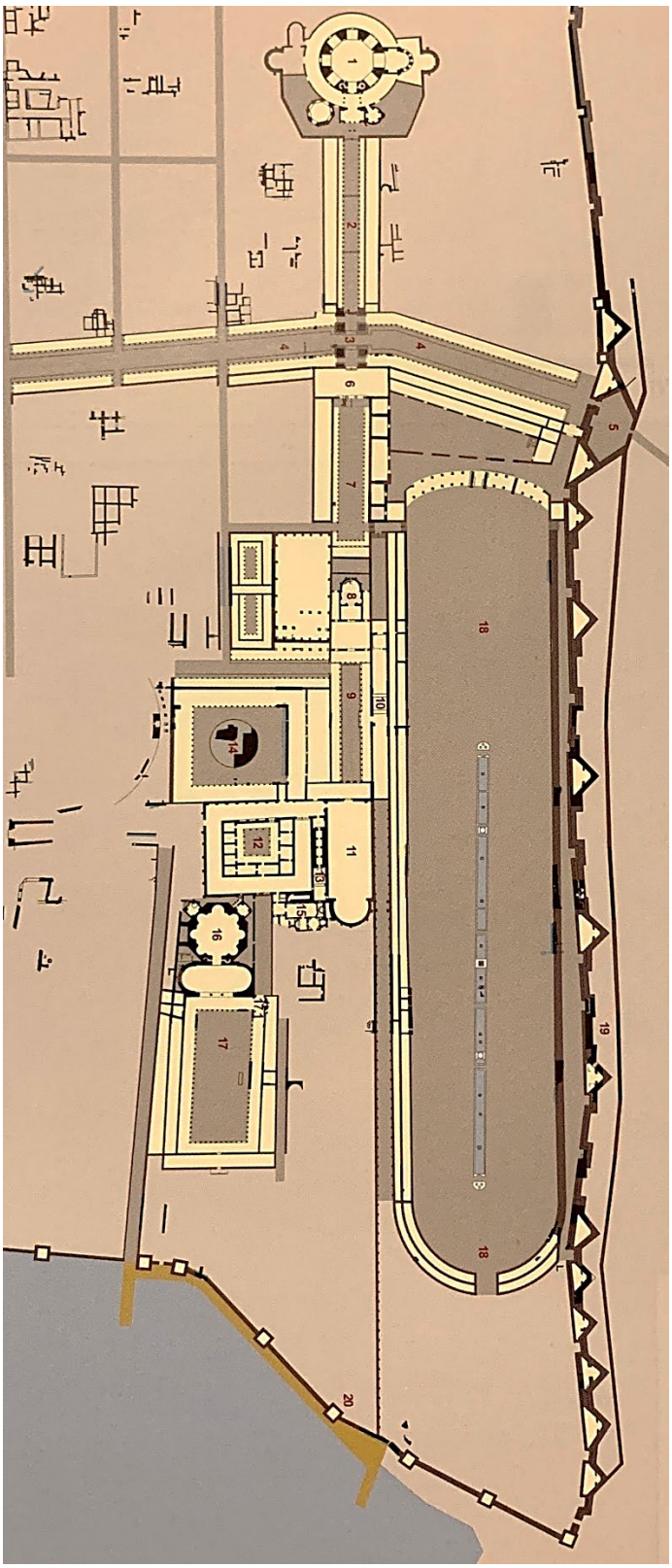

Figure 65: Reconstruction plan of the Galerian Palace at Thessalonica, modified from Pl. 3, in Athanasiou et al. 2015.

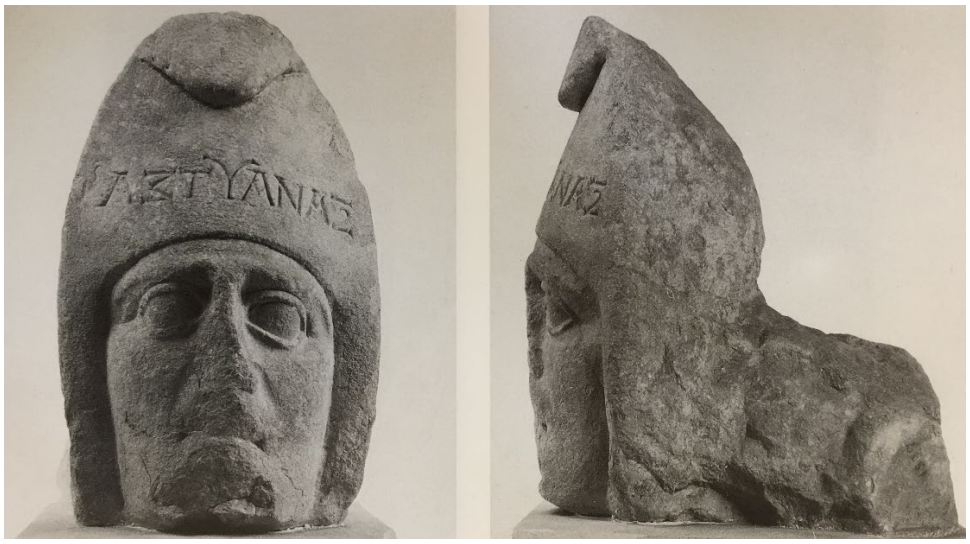

Figure 66: Stone theater mask antefix from Thessalonica, 2nd century AD, from the collection of l'école Sultanieh, from Figs. 509-10, Cat. #201, in Despinis et al. 2003.

Figure 67: The grave altar of the actor M. Varinius Areskon from Thessalonica, late 2nd century AD, found in 1985, from Figs. 357-8, Cat. #140, in Despinis et al. 1997.

Figure 68: Funerary stele for the *ephebe* Claudius from Thessalonica (*MΘ* 1213), early 3rd century AD, from Fig. 1000, Cat. #320, in Despinis et al. 2003.

Figure 69: The sarcophagus of Nepotianus Amyntianus from Thessalonica (*MΘ* 5686), early 3rd century AD, photo by author, from the sculpture garden of the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki © Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki/Hellenic Ministry of Culture & Sports.

Figure 70: Funerary stele of the *secutor* Peitherotes from Thessalonica (*MΘ* 1984), second half of the 2nd centuy AD, found in 1959, photo by author, © Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki/Hellenic Ministry of Culture & Sports.

Figure 71: Funerary stele of the *thrax* Lupercus from Thessalonica (*MΘ* 2233), second half of the 2nd century AD, photo by author, © Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki/Hellenic Ministry of Culture & Sports.

Figure 72: Funerary stele of the *secutor* Leukaspis from Thessalonica (*ΜΘ* 1292), second half of the 2nd century AD, photo by author, © Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki/Hellenic Ministry of Culture & Sports.

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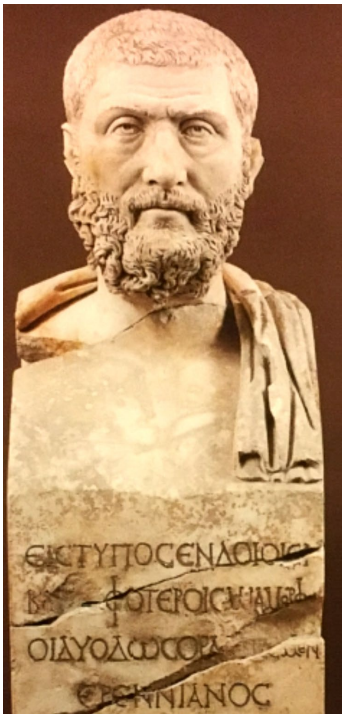

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Figure 79: Reliefs of *Erotes* hunting lions and bears from the lid of the Amazonomachy sarcophagus from Thessalonica (*ΜΘ* 283), photo by author (cf. Figs. 336-40, in Despinis et al. 1997), © Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki/Hellenic Ministry of Culture & Sports.

Figure 80: Reliefs of fighting animals from the front of the lid of the sarcophagus with Dionysiac scenes from Thessalonica (*MΘ* 1247), photo by author (cf. Figs. 1797-1799, in Despinis et al. 2010), © Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki/Hellenic Ministry of Culture & Sports.

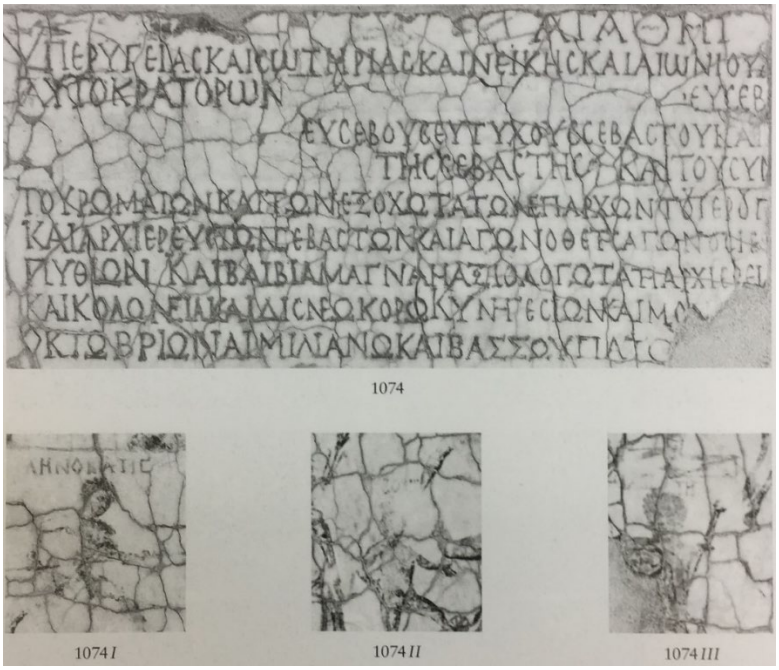

Figure 81: Invitation to Actian Kabeiran Pythian games at Thessalonica in 259 AD, from Thessalonica's *odeum* (*MΘ* 19475), from Tab. VI, in *IG* X 2,1s 1074.

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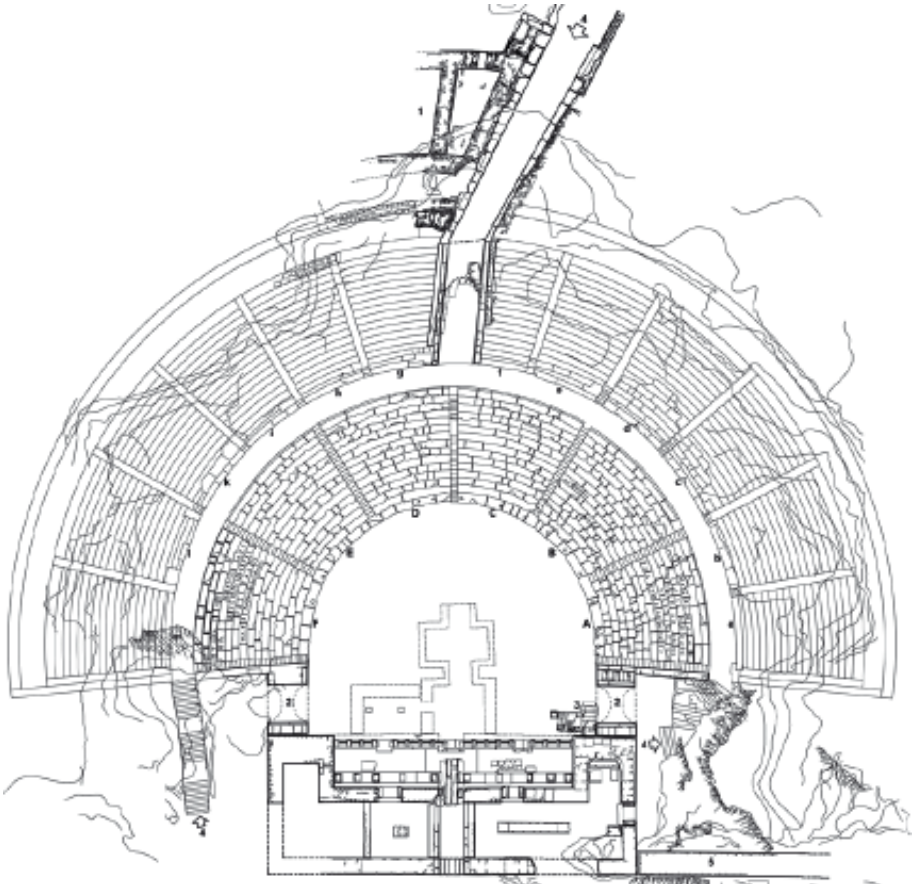
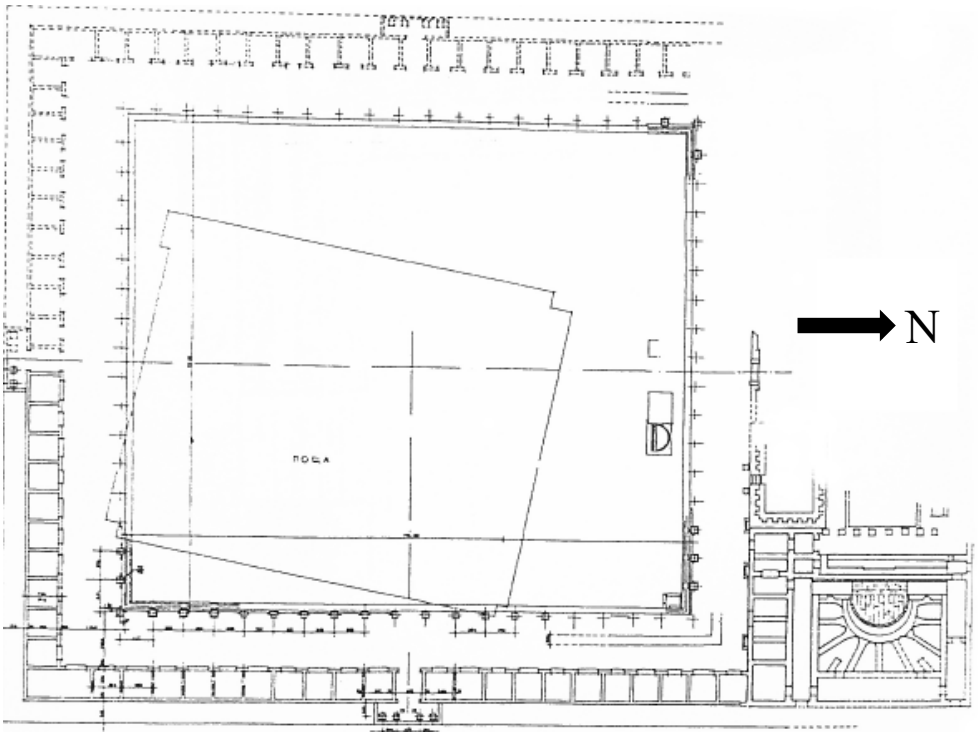


Figure 83: Plan of Philippopolis' theater, from Fig. 1, p. 69, in Martinova-Kyutova and Sharankov 2018.

Figure 84: Interior view of Philippopolis' theater, photo by author, 2015.



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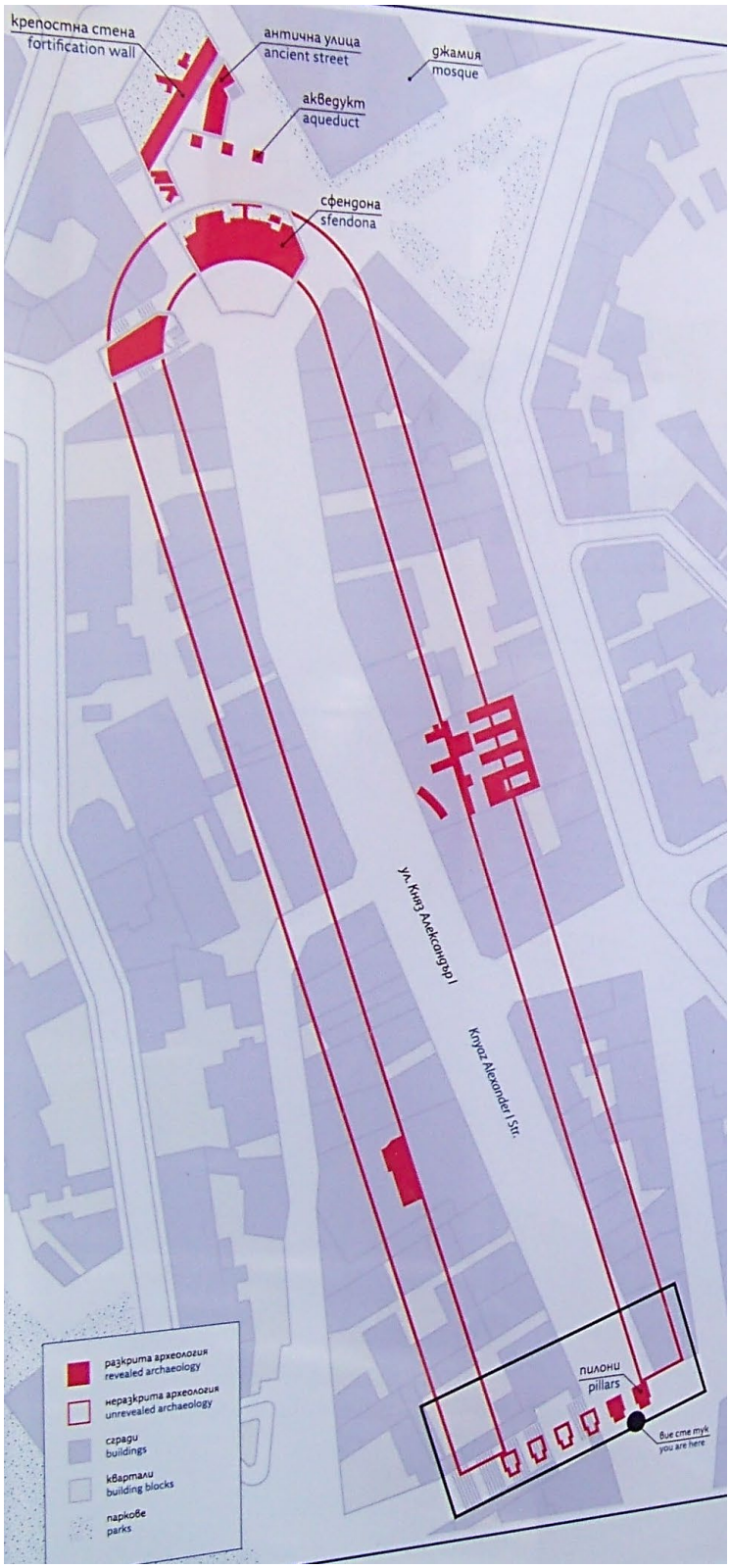

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Figure 90: View of Nicopolis ad Istrum's *odeum* from the southeast, photo by Yantra Dnes, from www.archaeologyinbulgaria.com/2016/07/29/volunteers.

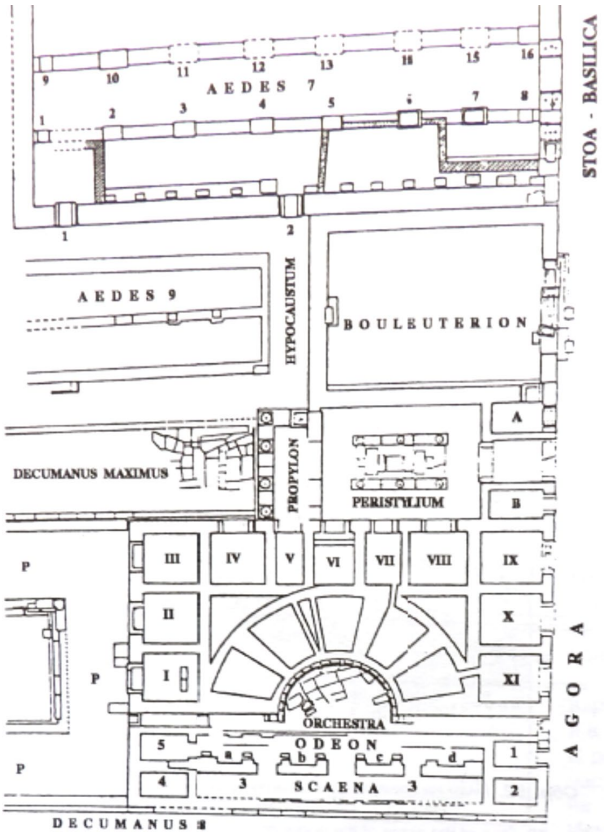

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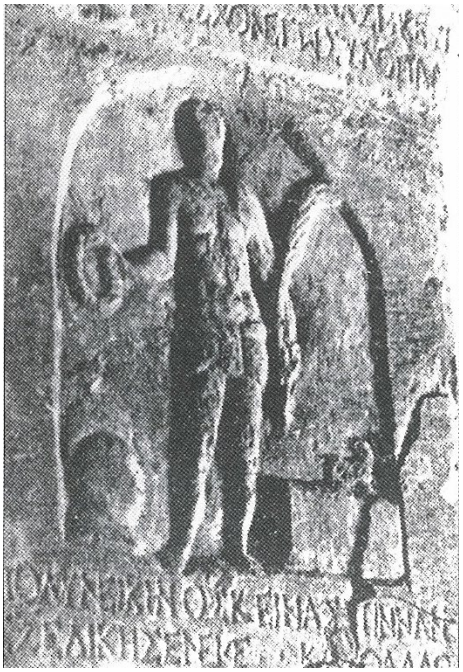
Figure 93: Funerary stele of the *secutor* Pherops from Philippopolis, from Cat. #76, in Vagalinski 2009.



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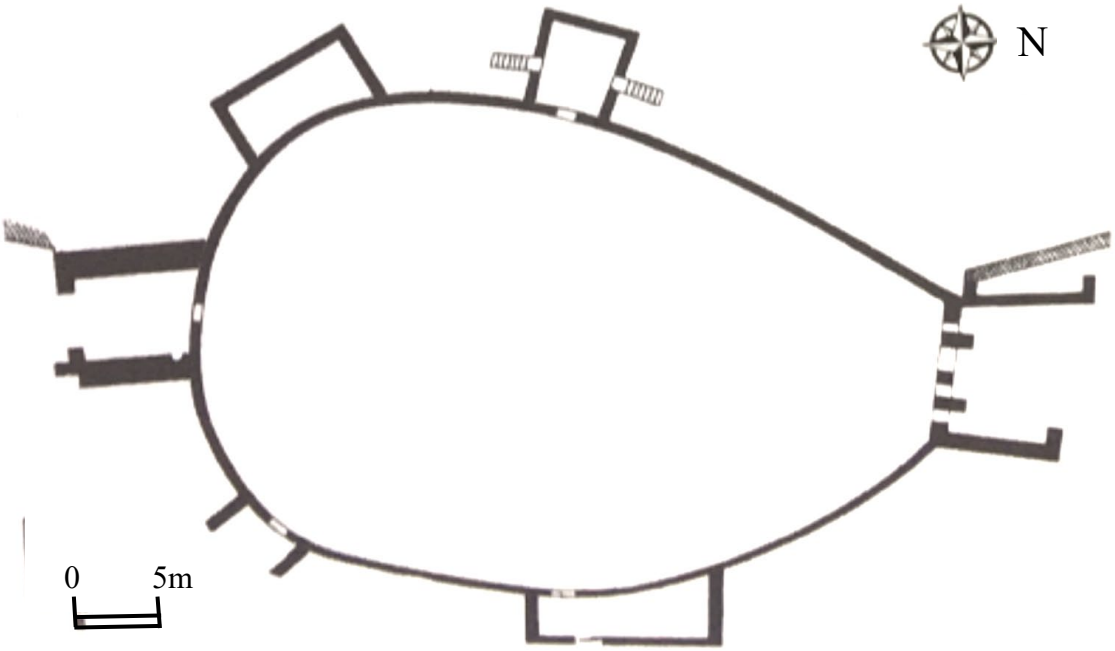

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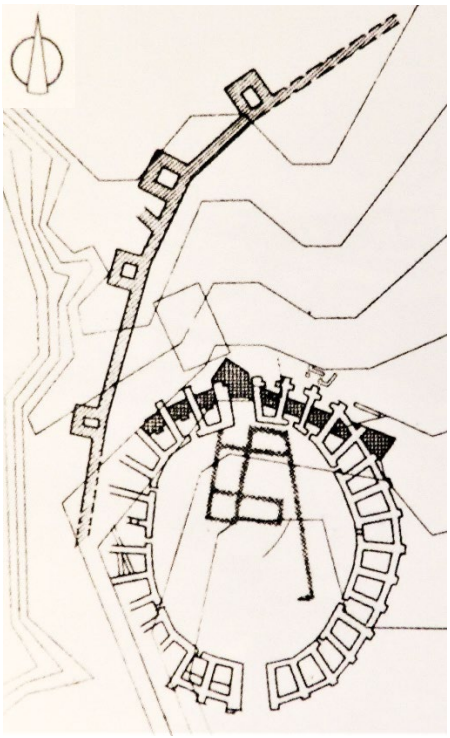

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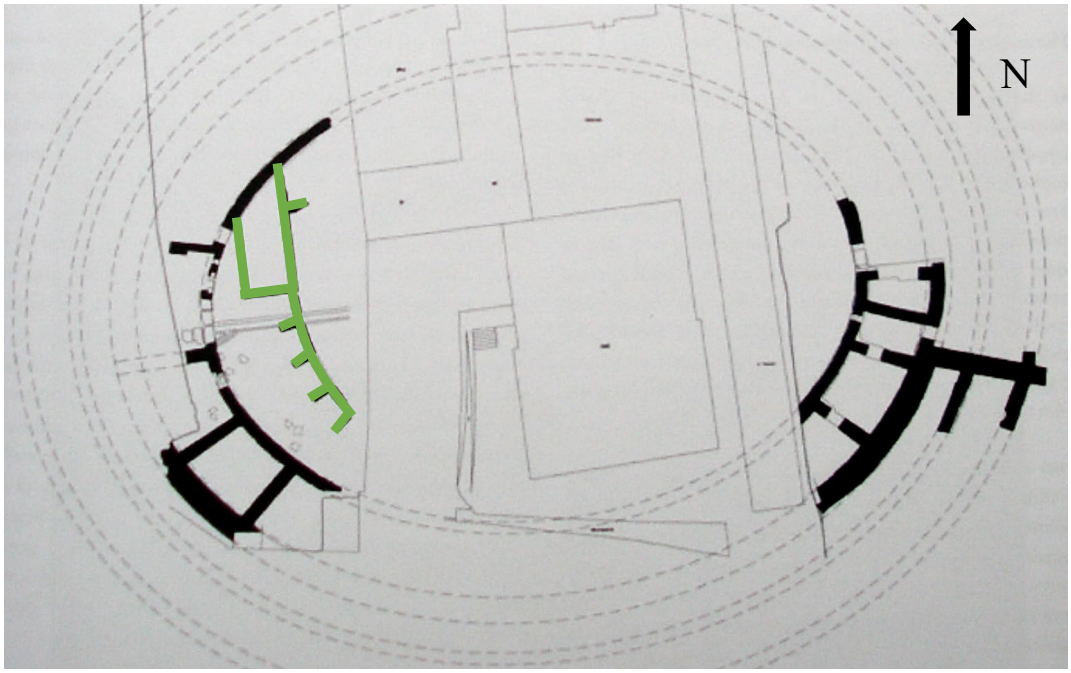

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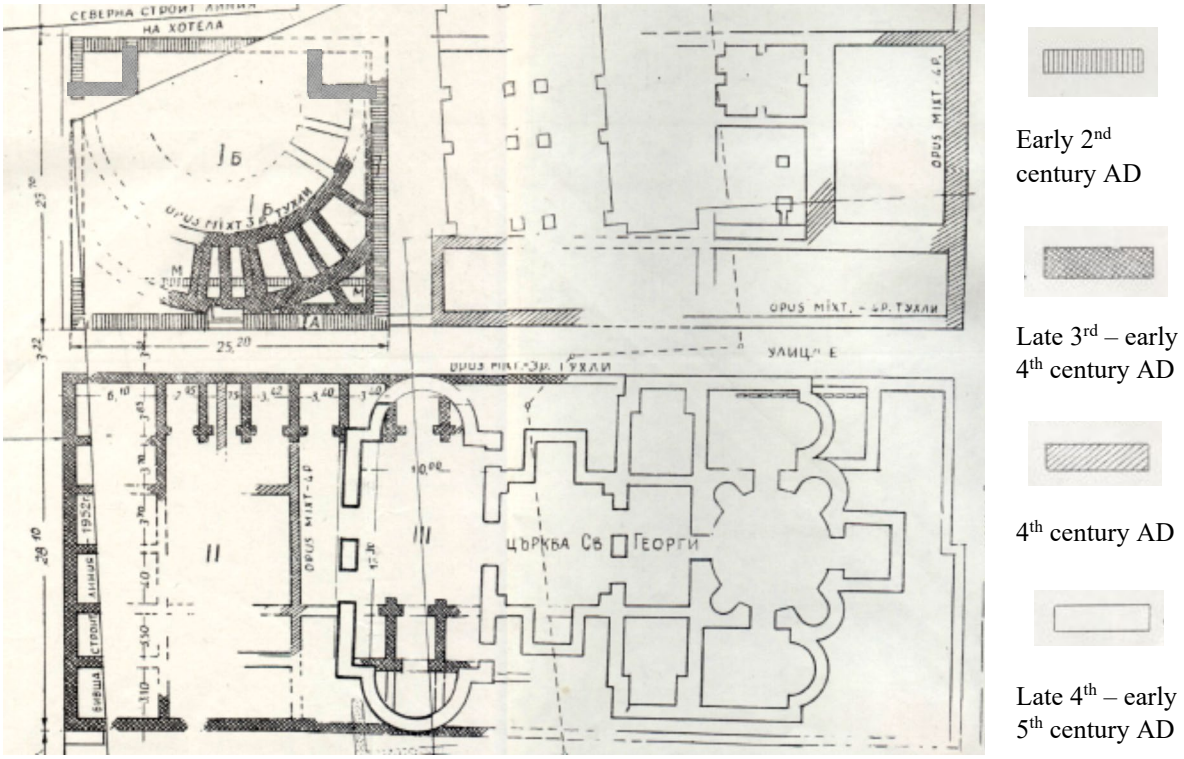
Figure 104: View from the west of the substructure rooms at the eastern end of Serdica's amphitheater, photo by author in the first floor of Arena di Serdica hotel.



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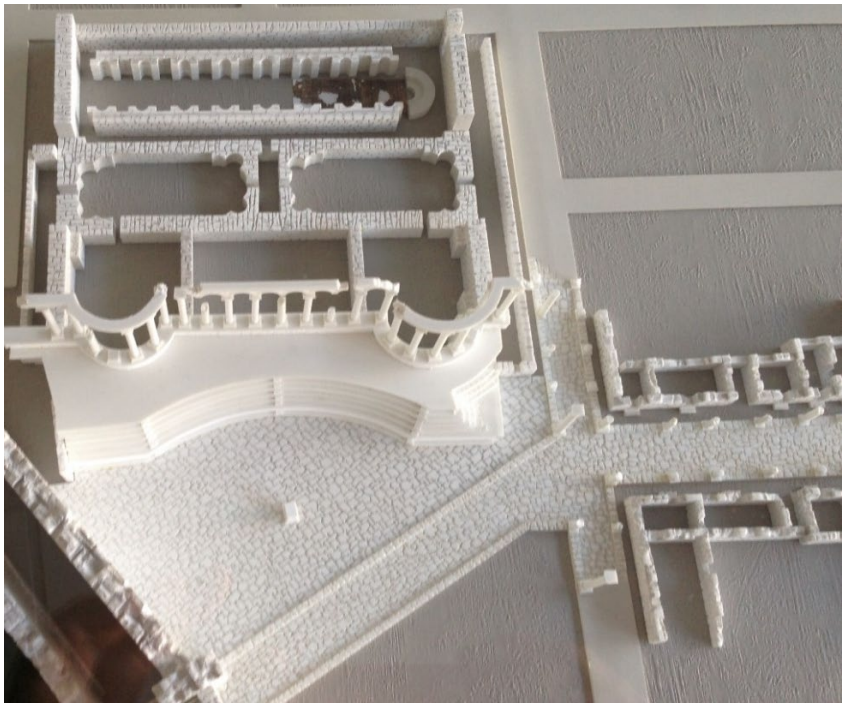

Figure 107: Model of the public square and baths at Augusta Traiana's western gate, modified from a larger model at the © Regional Historical Museum Stara Zagora.

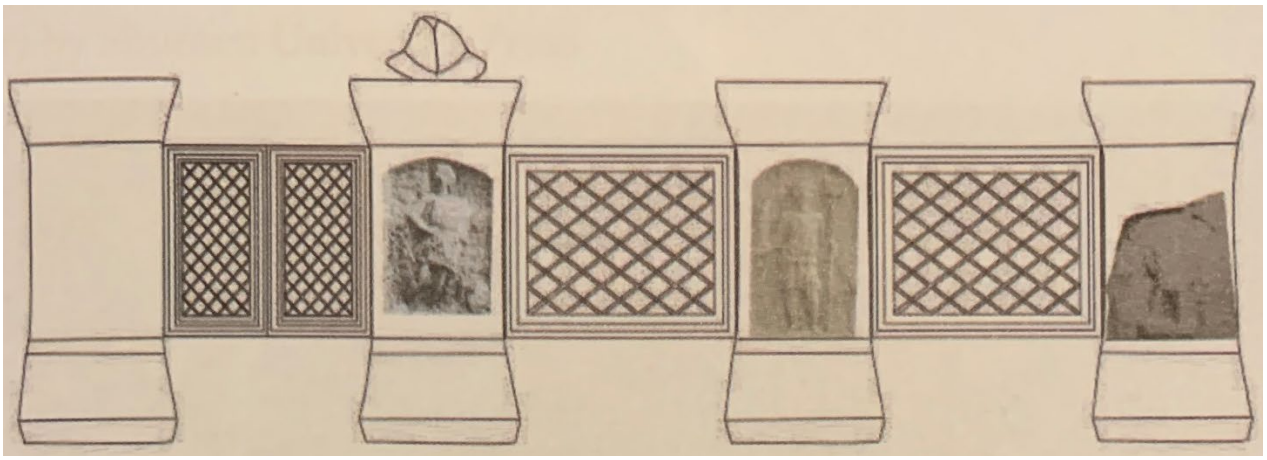

Figure 108: Reconstruction of the stone barrier in Augusta Traiana's amphitheater, from Pl. VII.1, pg. 95, in Popova 2017.

Figure 109: Relief-decorated architrave block showing fighting gladiators from Augusta Traiana, from Cat. #58, in Vagalinski 2009 (cf. Fig. 8, pg. 475, in Ivanov 2012).

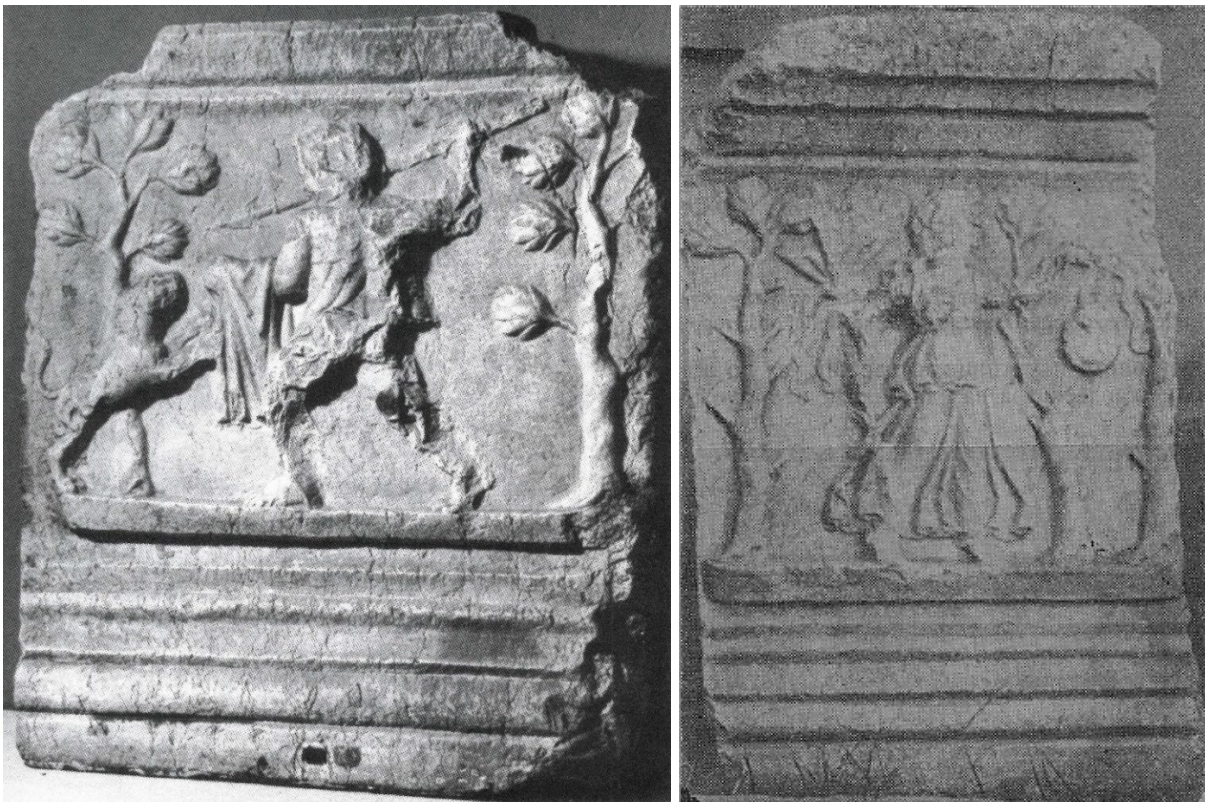

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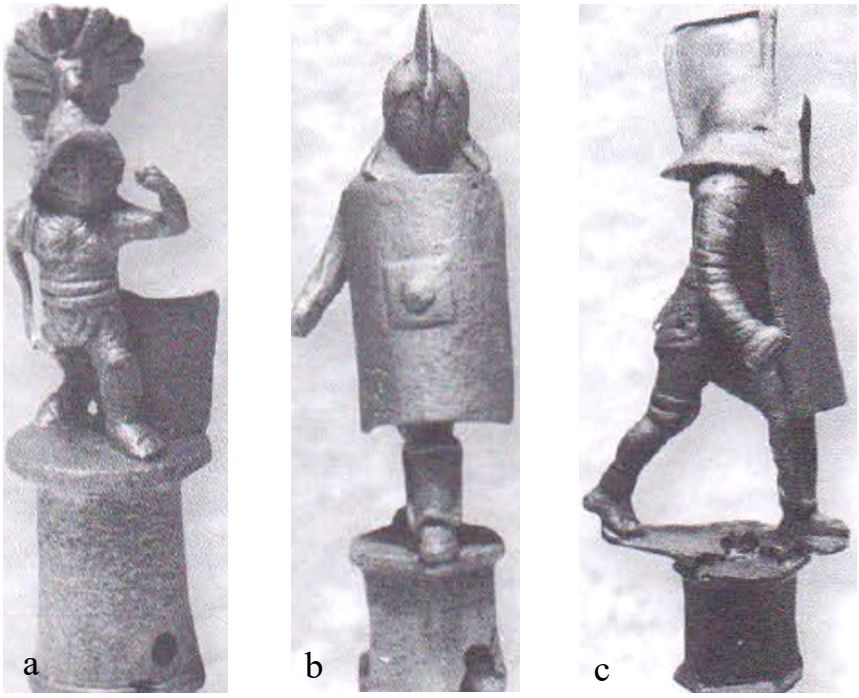
Figure 113: Relief-decorated architrave block showing a heavy gladiator and a *retiarius* from the tetrarchic temple at Augusta Traiana, photo by Duma daily, from Dikov 2015.



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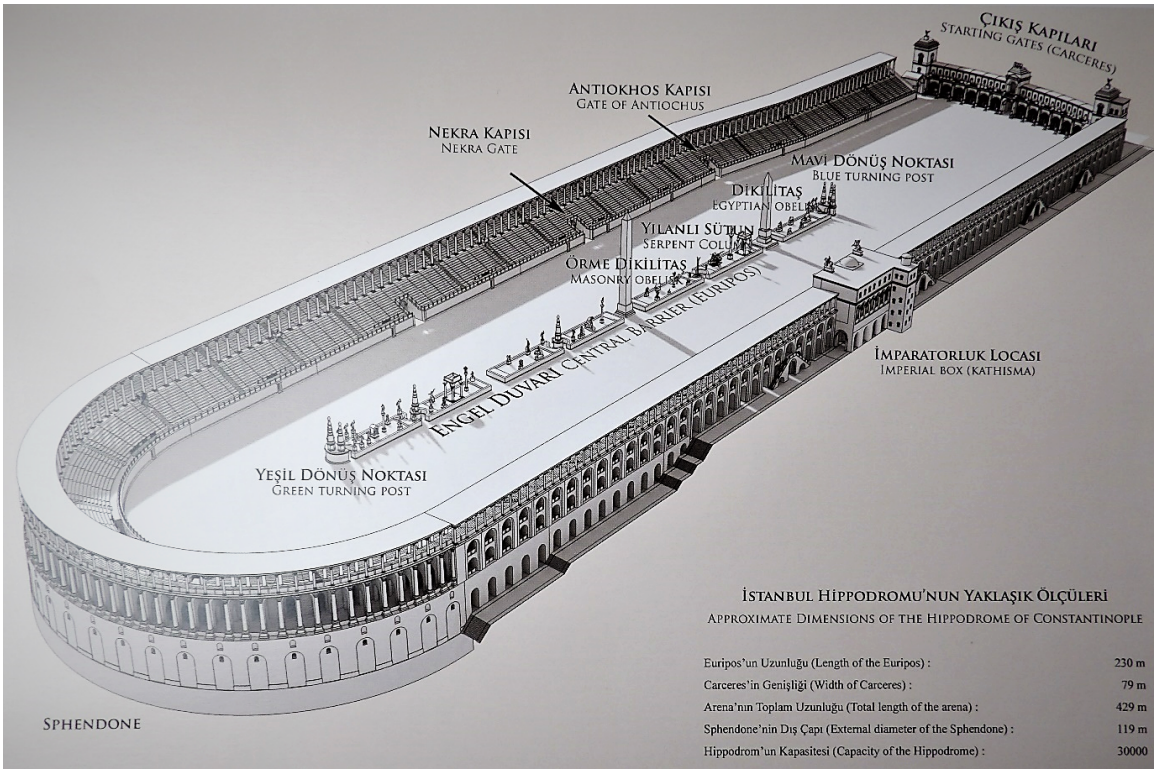

Figure 115: Reconstruction of Constantinople's hippodrome, from Fig. 13, in Pitarikis ed. 2012.

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